

**MIGRATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN REMOTE RURAL AREAS:
A SCOTTISH HIGHLAND CASE STUDY**

CATHERINE MACLEAN

**Ph.D.
University of Edinburgh
1997**



DECLARATION:

I have composed this thesis myself on the basis of my own work.

Catherine Maclean
October 1997

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Without the encouragement and support of my supervisors, Lynn Jamieson and Colin Bell, I would not have undertaken the thesis, let alone completed it.

A generous scholarship from *The Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland* enabled me to devote three years to doctoral research.

Thanks must also go to my friends, family and colleagues who have helped me in countless ways during the degree.

Last, but certainly not least, there would be no thesis at all without the residents of Beulach.

ABSTRACT

The thesis draws on research carried out in a small village on the west coast of the Scottish Highlands, anonymised here as Bailemór in the parish of Beulach.

Whilst there have been considerable numbers of community studies carried out in the Highlands and Islands, the thesis is unusual in its methodological approach, combining a long fieldwork period of participant observation, taped interviews, and the use of data such as the Census Small Area Statistics and Register of Sasines. Furthermore, the thesis deals with issues previously often examined only by means of survey data, principally the process of migration and especially 'rural renaissance'. It is argued that quantitative data alone does not examine these processes adequately, often creating a two dimensional 'snapshot in time'. Instead, the thesis draws upon rich fieldwork data to show how participant observation can add to understanding, and through fieldnotes and qualitative interviews presents the complexities and subtleties of migration in and out of the parish.

The thesis consists of a literature review, methodology chapter and descriptive chapter which form the context for the four main data chapters. The central focus of migration provides empirical evidence of demographic and historical change, which is used to analyse the experience of 'rural renaissance' in one small community, leading to the argument that such communities have a critical 'viability threshold'. Examining migration also gives scope for theoretical discussion of 'belonging' and social interaction. Migration decisions over time and social change in the parish are looked at through family history interviews. Contentious issues of belonging and localness are analysed in depth, linked to the gossip, humour and conflict of everyday life. One crofting township is examined in detail as a microcosm of all issues involved.

The thesis makes a significant contribution to the field both in its methodological discussion, and in the research findings and associated analysis. As an in-depth micro-level study, it helps to fill an identified gap in the literature. Key findings include that incomer/local statuses are not a dichotomy, nor even simply the more subtle 'continuum' of recent writing. Rather, they are mobilised and deployed selectively, in specific contexts. The thesis also highlights the significance of personal relationships, both in terms of 'belonging' and as the crucial factor underpinning many migration decisions. This aspect of

social change and migration has been neglected so far in the literature. Countering the common-sense perception of Highland in-migration, and earlier research into similar communities, the thesis finds that Bailemór is relatively open to newcomers, and that despite the erosion of cross-cutting ties of mutual interdependence, practices such as gossip and nicknaming have survived in social interaction.

While the thesis is a community study insofar as it is grounded in a substantial period of fieldwork in one area, it is a study of sociological issues in a community, rather than simply a study of a particular place. It is argued in the conclusion that the future of community studies lies in this direction, and there is much potential for further research building on the work of the current thesis.

LIST OF TABLES

1.	Birthplace of Residents	74
2.	Economic Position of Beulach Residents	80
3.	Bailemór Port Sales.....	84
4.	Case Study Families.....	103
5.	The Dynamics of In-migration - Two Examples	143
6.	Committee Membership.....	Appendix
7.	Ardbeith Houses and Residents	Appendix

LIST OF FIGURES

1.	Map of Beulach.....	65
2.	Beulach Population Graphs.....	73
3.	The White Family	146
4.	Belonging Trajectory	146
5.	Map of Ardbeith.....	222
6.	Links Between Current Ardbeith Residents, A.....	223
7.	Links Between Current Ardbeith Residents, B.....	223

CONTENTS

Declaration

Acknowledgements

Abstract

List of Tables

List of Figures

1.	INTRODUCTION.....	1
2.	LITERATURE REVIEW.....	6
	Introduction.....	7
	The Counter-Urbanisation Debate.....	7
	The Highlands and Islands: a Tale of Decline.....	11
	Micro-Level Studies	21
	Conclusion	27
3.	METHODS	30
	Introduction.....	31
	Locating Myself: Why Beulach?	31
	The Pilot Study	34
	Why These Methods?	34
	Praxis	36
	Participant Observation.....	36
	Key Informants	38
	Fieldnotes	40
	Interviews.....	41
	Census Small Area Statistics	43
	Register of Sasines	44
	Locating Myself: In The Field.....	45
	Going Native.....	47
	Locating Myself: As Gendered.....	48
	Ethics	52
	Informed Consent.....	53
	Anonymity.....	53
	Exploitation and Distance: the Real People Dilemma	54
	Memory and the Presentation of Self	56
	Locating Myself: Having Left the Field.....	60
	Data Analysis and Writing Up.....	61
	Conclusion	62

4.	THE PARISH OF BEULACH	64
	Introduction.....	66
	Historical Background	69
	Demographic Profile.....	71
	Local Health and Social Services	74
	Education	76
	Housing and Land Ownership	77
	Employment.....	78
	Crofting.....	81
	Fishing	82
	The Beulach Estate	86
	Tourism.....	87
	Social Life.....	89
	Religion: Churches, Weddings, Funerals	92
	Conclusion	95
5.	ORAL HISTORY ACCOUNTS OF MIGRATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE.....	97
	Introduction.....	98
	How Local are the Real Locals?.....	99
	Case Study Families	102
	Leaving and Returning: Migration as the Norm.....	104
	Vignettes	106
	Family D: the Morrisons	106
	Family M: the Macleods	106
	Family K: the MacRaes.....	107
	Family N: the Mathesons	107
	Family L: the MacIvers.....	107
	Family A: the Kerrs	108
	Family H: the Mackays	108
	Chance, Choice and Constraint.....	110
	Work and Life in Beulach before WWII: Not Living but Existing.....	116
	Getting Out and Getting On: Attitudes to Beulach.....	119
	Getting Out and Getting On: Routes away from Beulach	121
	Schooling	122
	War	126
	Men	128
	Women.....	129
	Returning, Staying, Leaving: Motives and Opportunities.....	131
	Work in Beulach after WWII	134
	The Sutherlands (Q) and the Mackenzies (F)	135
	The MacAskills (E)	136
	Conclusion	137
6.	BELONGING AND IN-MIGRATION	139
	Introduction.....	140
	Dolly's Narrative.....	141
	Theorising Belonging	142
	The Demographic Context.....	151
	Second Homes, Holiday Lets and House Prices.....	153

Committees: 'the same people do everything'	159
'Local' and 'Incomer' as Labels used in Conflict	166
Vignettes	171
The In-Marrying Woman	171
The Good Lifer	172
The Return Migrant	173
The Bricoleur	174
The Downshifters	174
Discussion	177
Conclusion	179
 7. THE VERY BLOOD AND TISSUE OF COMMUNITY LIFE.....	181
Introduction.....	182
Defining Gossip	182
Reputation Management, Collective Memory and Identity	185
Beulach Gossip	187
Life in the Panopticon.....	190
Indirect Questioning	191
The 'Terrible Gossip'.....	195
Games and Resistance	199
Good Behaviour as Form not Content	202
Survival.....	203
Conflict: Not so much Face-to-Face as Back-to-Back?	204
Humour and Nicknaming	208
Poaching	214
Vignette of a Poacher: Fergus Macleod's story	217
Conclusion	219
 8. THE TOWNSHIP OF ARDBEITH	221
Introduction.....	224
Methods	224
House by House	225
Discussion.....	243
Housing.....	243
Tourists and 'Summer Visitors'	245
Belonging, Incomers and Migration	248
Neighbours and Kin: Community Cohesion and Conflict.....	251
Conclusion	254
 9. CONCLUSION	256

Appendixes
Bibliography

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This introductory chapter is of necessity brief, as one of the major problems I have encountered in the course of my Ph.D. (in common with many postgraduate students) has been the amount of material I have collected, and the number of issues I have felt were begging for discussion. So the process of 'writing up' has been for me more one of 'cutting down'.

An extremely wide range of material and the necessity of working to a word limit meant choices and sacrifices. Had I tried to encompass every possible topic, the resulting thesis would have been either incredibly long, or scattered, shallow and fragmented. Of a range of equally valid subject areas, then, I have pursued those issues that I personally find most interesting. Hence the focus on migration's historical dimension; gender; and interaction in relation to belonging, gossip and conflict. While class has not been an explicit focus, it will be found that issues of deference, status and power are threaded through the thesis. Likewise, while work/the economy is not a chapter in itself, as was originally planned, how Beulachers make a living, now and in the past, recurs throughout the thesis.

The initial driving force behind the research was the combination of an academic interest in social scientific issues in Scotland, and an awareness that a rural area I knew reasonably well (anonymised here as Beulach) seemed to be undergoing interesting social, economic and demographic changes. Once I began reading around the issues of social change and migration, I realised that Beulach fitted into the context of the ongoing academic debate about the nature, extent and causes of a process variously called 'rural renaissance', 'population turnaround' and 'counter-urbanisation'.

Chapter Two of the thesis is a review of this literature, and provides additional context for my research in the form of discussion of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, the crofting system, etc.

In the course of this reading, it became apparent that gaps in the literature existed, which I could begin to fill with my own research. Academics (e.g., Bolton and Chalkley, 1990;

Smailes and Hugo, 1985; Harper, 1991) identified a need for more micro-level case studies to be carried out, to provide empirical data and locality-based theorising which would complement macro-level analyses, and would thus further the understanding of population shifts. As I read, I became aware that migration research seemed to prioritise heavily the 'snapshot in time' approach, which I felt ignored the potential significance of the life course dimension. Lumb had concluded in 1980 that migration in the Highlands and Islands was not deviant but normative - but for how long had this been the case? And had reasons for migrating changed over time?

This was related to a methodological skew to research in this area, towards questionnaire-based studies. My own interdisciplinary background and interests, and knowledge of Beulach, led me to believe that a more ethnographic, qualitative approach would be fruitful.

Whilst this has been the cornerstone of my research, I have been quite eclectic in my approach to methods, as I believe different types of data not only complement each other but are synergetic in their combination. This and other methodological and epistemological issues are discussed in depth in Chapter Three.

Chapter Four is a social, economic and demographic description of the area in which I carried out my fieldwork. It includes a map of the parish and discussion of employment; education and other services; housing; religion and social life. The chapter introduces salient aspects of life in Beulach, and themes that are discussed in greater depth later in the thesis.

Chapters Two to Four inclusive, then, provide the context of academic debate and background information in which to set the remainder of the thesis.

Chapter Five is drawn almost exclusively from oral history interviews carried out with elderly people during the course of my fieldwork. It begins to examine issues of identity - what or who is 'local'? - and in greater depth discusses the experience of living in Beulach, through the accounts of those whose lifespan covers much of the twentieth century. Attitudes to Beulach and migration; changes in employment and lifestyle; and the interplay of choice, constraint, gender and socio-economic status; are discussed both thematically and through case study family vignettes and individuals' narratives.

Many of these issues recur in Chapter Six, which deals with belonging and in-migration. This chapter draws more heavily from my participant observation-based fieldnotes, i.e., present-day experiences. Again, the evidence is presented through a combination of narrative, vignettes and statistical data. However, the chapter also includes a critical analysis of the literature theorising 'belonging'. This is also presented visually for the Beulach case through diagrams and family trees. Out of a rich and extensive collection of data, I have focused on three issues which illustrate clearly the processes involved: housing (drawing on data from the Register of Sasines, housing reports and Highland Council); voluntary organisations (analysing membership of a sample of Beulach organisations and examining attitudes towards 'committees'); and conflict (specifically in relation to the mobilising of local/incomer identities as part of the dispute).

To illustrate further the interplay of these issues in Beulach life, I have used vignettes to represent ideal-typical categories of in-migrants. A concluding section draws out how factors such as gender, class and personality influence in-migrant careers.

Chapter Seven further extends discussion of conflict, within its scope of examining the significance of gossip and scandal in community life. The chapter begins with a critical discussion of theories purporting to explain this. It discusses how Beulach fits into these theories, and goes on to examine the Beulach case in detail, including themes such as the indirectness of surveillance; the importance of form and content in behaviour and reputation management; and attitudes towards people known as gossips.

Conflict, poaching and humour are all interlinked with Beulach scandal and gossip, and so they are grouped together in this chapter. Evidence is presented in the form of incidents and discussions of specific cases (e.g., a vignette of a poacher; the role of 'the postie'), drawn from my fieldnotes.

The penultimate chapter, number Eight, pulls together the wide range of themes discussed in the preceding data chapters. It aims to provide a microcosm of these in the form of discussion of one particular Beulach township, Ardbeith. This is discussed house by house and then thematically, complemented by a map of the township, table of residents, and kinship diagrams.

Chapter Nine concludes the thesis by overviewing all the foregoing chapters, highlighting the most significant findings, showing how these further research in this field; and indicating the possibilities for future work in this area.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter is not an exhaustive survey of the literature. In an earlier incarnation, it was, but as it seemed overly mechanistic and there was pressure on space for the research findings, I decided to reduce it to a concise and focused context in which to set my research. In addition, it will be found that the literature is discussed and drawn upon as relevant throughout the remainder of the thesis.

The current chapter thus consists of a summary of the academic debate about the nature and causes of counter-urbanisation; related background information about the experience of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; and a broader examination of micro-level studies of migration and social change.

The concluding section of this chapter will draw together the most significant themes, highlighting gaps in the literature, and indicating where these are dealt with in the remainder of the thesis.

The Counter-Urbanisation Debate

In the 1970s, the urbanisation process, in terms of increasing concentration of population into large agglomerations, appeared to be going into reverse in the developed world. This was an unexpected and exciting trend, not least because, as Champion points out, these changes "fitted in very neatly with contemporary ideas of a shift from an industrial to a 'post-industrial' society, providing a physical and easily measurable manifestation of more complex and deep-seated changes believed to be taking place in economic and social structures" (1989: 1). Observations based on annual population estimates made by the United States Bureau of the Census in the early 1970s provided the trigger to the counter-urbanisation debate, and it was first referred to as 'rural renaissance' by Morrison and Wheeler (1976). Much was made of a desire to return to rural life:

The underlying catalyst for recent trends may be the enhanced capacity of non-metropolitan areas for employing new residents. This general growth in employment opportunities quite probably helps also to explain reduced out-migration from non-metropolitan areas in recent years. However, our data suggest rather strongly that in-migrants, especially those coming from metropolitan areas, tend to view their behaviour in the context of the relative merits of rural versus urban living.

(Williams and Sofranko, 1979: 253)

This debate in the USA captured academic attention and stimulated a wider search for signs of similar developments across the developed world. Vining and Pallone (1982) looked at 22 different countries and concluded with the tentative hypothesis that they could be divided into two groups distinguished by the potential for economic development in their respective peripheries. In the authors' opinion, where physical geography is favourable to modern economic development, economic growth will eventually bring a country to the point where productive capacity is added on in the periphery faster than in the core, and the flow of population follows this. At the least, a level of national wealth sufficient to subsidise population maintenance in the peripheral areas is necessary.

The methods of authors such as Vining and Pallone have been criticised for their lack of precision. In general, it has been difficult to tell whether contradictory signals are reflecting real differences in different parts of the world, or differences in the methods and objectives of different studies.

In response to what he saw as a vague 'pick-and-mix' approach to the concept of counter-urbanisation, Fielding (1982) defined urbanisation more precisely as a positive correlation of population gains with settlement size. He then examined statistics for fourteen countries in Western Europe from 1950 to 1980, concluding that counter-urbanisation was indeed widespread across this area.¹ In 1950, there was a positive correlation of gains with size, i.e., smaller settlements experienced the highest rates of net loss and the largest had the highest gains. In 9 of the 14 countries Fielding studied, urbanisation had definitely ceased by 1980, and this was probably also the case for a further two. In only three countries

¹ Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK and West Germany.

(Ireland, Spain and Portugal) did a broadly positive relationship continue into the 1970s. In the UK, 1951-61 was dominated by urbanisation, but from 1961-71 large cities became areas of net migration loss, with nearby rural areas being the main recipients of net gain, e.g., East Anglia. From 1971, this trend continued, with more peripheral regions increasingly showing gain or signs of a strong trend towards gain.

There are various models purporting to explain rural population growth, discussed in detail by Fielding (1982). Different authors have asserted the primacy of, for example: a deep-rooted reversal of preferences in favour of the rural (e.g., Williams and Sofranko, 1979); changing patterns of employment opportunities; and state intervention (cf., Myklebost, 1984).

Fielding argued that none of these models alone were adequate. He looked for what was fundamental and general to all Western European countries, and concluded that all are mature capitalist societies, with similar class structures, similar institutions and, increasingly, a common 'mass culture'. The majority of goods and services are produced by wage labour for privately owned companies for profit and connected to the increasingly international capitalist economy. Investment in rural and peripheral areas often receives state financial assistance, and these areas also have lower labour turnover rates, more flexibility in the use of labour, reserves of female labour and less militancy. Therefore, Fielding concluded:

It is in continuing to do something that they have always done - i.e., make changes in what, how and where to produce goods and services in such a way as to remain profitable - that firms have acted as the major agents of change in the distribution of population - i.e., as the prime generators of counter-urbanisation.

(1982: 32)

Dean *et al* call Fielding's work the most sophisticated and perceptive theoretical discussion of population redistribution, as most accounts of counter-urbanisation:

embrace both description and presuppositions about explanation. For example, the discovery of relatively higher rates of population growth in non-urban areas automatically implies a rejection of urban life. Furthermore, the term is well on the way to achieving reification; counter-urbanisation has come to exist as a tangible force that is causing the redistribution of population.

(1984: 178)

However, although relatively sophisticated, Fielding's neo-Marxist model, prioritising the relative advantages of capital over labour in rural/peripheral areas, suffers from some fundamental problems. Fielding pays no attention to individual subjective realities, which Dean *et al* see as essential to a complete understanding of migration. Also, Fielding dismisses the investigation of individual countries as yielding "interesting, but ultimately unimportant, details" (1982: 25). On the contrary, it matters how and whether general forces operate for specific countries and areas within countries, as a failure to recognise this may result in the explanation of a reality that is quite unrelated to actual geographical areas and the experiences of individuals resident there. Fielding's theory also does not deal with population stabilisation or growth in areas where firms have not relocated to any extent.

In Norway (Myklebost, 1984), the post-war period has been characterised by centralisation of population - nationally, regionally and locally. With only 4 million people spread over an area much larger than Britain, population decline is taken very seriously as it can quickly result in insufficient numbers of people for the provision of basic services like schools and shops. Government policies were therefore developed, aiming at moving plants and jobs to less prosperous areas. In the mid-'60s the process slowed down and in the '70s the proportion of the population living in the nine urban regions declined. The concentration process only continues on the local level, and less drastically than before. The 1970s saw a marked shift of manufacturing away from the three largest urban regions and other main centres.

Jackson (in Jones, 1982a) states that by 1975, emigration from the Faroes had practically ceased, and the net shift in population between the islands had also declined radically. Unemployment had risen in Denmark and long distance commuting on the Faroes was increasingly possible, with an improved communication system of roads and ferries, and vastly increased car imports during the late '70s. As with Norway, the community became more viable once population, communications and services passed a certain threshold.

However, to further complicate the debate, since the counter-urbanisation trend was identified in the early 1970s, population deconcentration has slowed in several countries and even reversed in some cases. By 1982, the metropolitan population of the USA was again growing faster than that of non-metropolitan areas. Likewise, Greater London's population stabilised in the mid-'80s after massive losses in the late '60s and early '70s. In the light of

this, Champion (1989) poses the question: do the events of the '70s constitute a temporary anomaly or form the harbinger of a longer-term tendency towards population dispersal that will reverse the effects of over a century of urbanisation? He argues that rather than the dawn of a new post-industrial era, with the urbanisation associated with industrialism on the wane, a decade later the situation seems much more varied and volatile across Europe. In Britain, a massive redistribution of jobs in favour of non-metropolitan areas took place during the 1970s. There is a widespread preference for lower-density settlement which is given freer rein at certain times, such as when energy costs are falling or the number of young families is increasing. Deconcentration is a powerful force unlikely to be a temporary blip, but it is difficult to visualise it as a long-term trend in the way rapid urbanisation was for over a century. For example, it could be argued that counter-urbanisation contains the seeds of its own destruction: because smaller places are more attractive and therefore grow faster, this might make them larger and less attractive. Certainly, other recent authors (e.g., McCleery, 1991) do not see turnaround as a stable phenomenon.

Counter-urbanisation is obviously a widespread trend, even if not uniform and maintaining its original momentum. There is a strong argument for micro-level case studies, in order to understand more fully the subtleties of population change. Most of the authors in the macro-level debate are focused upon rural population growth in areas which are hardly remote, such as East Anglia, or on substantial changes in the location of manufacturing industry, i.e., its move to what have been regarded as peripheral regions. In the remainder of the chapter, I will survey micro-level studies carried out to date, but before doing so I wish to set out the experience of a truly remote area with little manufacturing industry: the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

The Highlands and Islands: a Tale of Decline

An examination of the Highlands and Islands as a whole provides the context for my own research. The present Highland Region had a population of 228,000 in 1851 and of 162,000 in 1961 (Cottam, Knox and Hirsch, 1981). In 1851 the seven crofting counties contained 13.7% of Scotland's population. By 1901, this figure had fallen to 7.9%, and by 1951 the crofting counties' share of the total population was only 5.6% (Caird, 1972). The Taylor

Commission was appointed in June 1951, to review crofting conditions in the Highlands and Islands in the hopes of securely establishing a smallholding population making full use of agricultural resources with the maximum economic benefit possible. They held public meetings in 62 parishes and published their *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Crofting Conditions* in 1954. The dominant impression the Commissioners had gained of crofting was that "It is a system which, as now organised, is fighting a losing battle against the social and economic forces of the day...If it is to be saved, there is no time to be lost" (1954: 9). As they pointed out, crofting had always had to be supplemented by auxiliary industries, and it was the decline of many of these (e.g., fishing), coupled with the fact that people were no longer content with the standard of living acceptable to their forebears, that the Commissioners thought largely accounted for the decline of crofting. In terms of comfort, convenience and entertainment, crofting life compared unfavourably with urban conditions, especially for women, who often had to carry water from wells, do croft work on top of arduous housework, and so forth. This has been documented in other oral history work (e.g., Jamieson and Toynbee, 1992), and was certainly the case in my research area, where at least in the early 1950s and prior to that women seem to have worked ceaselessly, doing all the normal household chores without piped water or electricity, cooking and baking on an open fire or stove, sewing, looking after their husbands, children and also hens and cows, and sometimes summer visitors too. The Taylor Commission report remarked that:

it is no great exaggeration to say that the key to the whole crofting problem lies in the hands of the women, especially the young women. If they elect to stay in the township, there is hope for the future. If they leave, they will probably never return.

(1954: 33)

Women, concluded the Commissioners, are no longer content with being the unpaid assistants of their menfolk, and need more status and opportunities.

The Commissioners set crofting in the context of a European wide move away from the country to the towns. Across the many parishes they visited, when they asked people's reasons for leaving, they were told "that there is no work available which can maintain them at a reasonable level of subsistence; that life is restricted and dull and its prospects,

especially the prospect of marriage, remote and uncertain; that the hardship and lack of amenity are intolerable" (1954: 34).

This is remarkably similar to the Irish government's Commission on Emigration, who published their findings in 1956, with the comment:

We were impressed by the unanimity of the views presented to us in the evidence on the relative loneliness, dullness and general unattractive nature of life in many parts of rural Ireland at present.

(Brody, 1973: 70)

Brody, who carried out fieldwork in the west of Ireland in the late 1960s, paints a picture of decline, disarray and demoralisation, similar in many respects to the Taylor Commission report. He depicts an ageing and isolated population, suffering from "the eclipse of communal activity and mutual interdependence" (1973: 30). Alongside social atrophy and economic contraction had developed a lack of conviction about the advantage, merit or desirability of living and working in a small rural community: "Traditional life is valued defensively where it is valued at all" (1973: 40). Historically, emigration from Ireland was driven by necessity, but "in recent years emigration has derived from a revision in attitude towards rural life itself. The countryman of today usually does not want to live on the land at all, but does so as a matter of duty" (1973: 63). Brody argued that there was a new post-war sense of relative deprivation and disadvantage:

as the 1950s advanced, the opportunities - social, financial and sexual - with which urban life tends to be identified were forced deeper and deeper into the consciousness of the community: tourists, the new films, television and ever glossier magazines brought their message into every country home.

(1973: 99)

Littlejohn, in his classic study of a Cheviot parish carried out from 1949-51, argued that what he called the dominance of the town could not be explained entirely on an economic basis. Like Brody, he found that a new attitude was apparent, in which "a 'local community' it seems is not a group that anyone particularly wants to belong to" (Littlejohn, 1963: 154). Town people regarded country people with an "attitude of mingled pity and derision" (1963: 139). He points out, however, a class element in this evaluation of rural and urban life. The most disparaging attitudes towards rural 'isolation' tended to come from the working class,

whereas middle class people often expressed envy. Indeed, rural life is not isolated or deprived for those with cars and money. Isolation is a relative, not absolute, concept. In Westrigg itself, 'in-bye' houses were valued more highly than 'out-bye'. Those living 'out-bye', e.g., in shepherd's cottages several miles from the road, were treated and talked about as if they had lost the ability to associate and communicate properly. Littlejohn remarks that this appeared to be a fairly recent development - the 'out-bye' houses used to be valued for the independence and privacy possible for those living in them. He found that wives were much more critical of isolation than husbands, and husbands often remarked that they were content living where they did but it was harder on their wives as they were tied to the house. Certainly in my own, contemporary fieldwork, I have heard similar sentiments expressed by at least three couples of different ages. Widespread car ownership has cut down on this type of isolation, but elderly women who cannot drive and young ones with several small children are still vulnerable to it.

The Taylor Commission report contains some interesting incongruities, stemming I think from competing myths about Highland society. In almost the same breath as outlining the above reasons that people are no longer prepared to endure the standard of living in these remote rural areas, the Commissioners declare that Highlanders as a rule leave home because they have to and would be glad to stay in their community if that were possible. Perhaps the fact that logically connects these paradoxical statements is what they also note, that two wars and national service had loosened ties and most young people had been away from home for at least some time - so it was easier to make the move (see Chapter Five below, for an in-depth discussion of this issue). Less easily reconciled is their statement that:

in the national interest the maintenance of these communities is desirable, because they embody a free and independent way of life which in a civilisation predominantly urban and industrial in character is worth preserving for its own intrinsic quality.

(Taylor Commission, 1954: 9)

I find this intriguing as it seems to me that for much of their history, the people of these areas have suffered as a result of their lack of freedom and independence, and even at this point the Commissioners are talking, prior to setting up the Crofters Commission, of how to

preserve, protect and look after the communities in question. Also interesting are the implicit values: I had hypothesised at the beginning of my research, with supporting evidence from authors such as Littlejohn (1963) and Brody (1973), that the period of greatest rural decline may have been paralleled if not caused by a negative evaluation of all things rural in comparison with urban life, but the underlying tone of the report is one of distress that a rural society seen as embodying wholesome values such as independence, and respect and affection for the elderly, is declining.

Mewett's 1974-75 fieldwork in Lewis (1982) also shows similar findings. Despite Clachan being a very homogeneous society, with 102 of its 128 households belonging to 19 families that had been in the area for several generations, Mewett identified a low evaluation of rural life and local culture, reflected in the decline of Gaelic. Islanders had a perception of themselves as relatively disadvantaged, in comparison with mainland, mainstream culture, and were often defensive about this. The exception to this in the literature seems to be the Whalsay islanders' promotion of a self-image of superiority (Cohen, 1987). Perhaps, then, the key to this issue is that the combination of economic success and a strong cultural tradition (as on Whalsay) prevents people from viewing negatively the remote rural area they live in.

As in Brody's Inishkillane, in Clachan, Mewett found that ceilidhs, dancing on summer evenings, and weddings held in barns had all gone and not been replaced by mainstream culture and entertainment. Substantial out-migration from Lewis in the 20th century meant that most Clachan people had worked or trained elsewhere; and all had close friends and relatives living away from Lewis. The permanent or long-term migrant was called an 'exile'. This obviously carries implications of being forced to go, but in addition, leaving the island to train or work was seen as signifying an ability to succeed in life. Mewett noted that bachelors were prominent among men who have spent their working career on Lewis and concluded that "success...as evaluated in mainstream culture, can often involve migration to secure a job equivalent to the person's educational attainments" (1982: 232). This has links with Macleod's assessment (1995) that people who leave are seen as more capable and socially aware, and Brody's finding (1973) that young Irish women did not want to marry young local men who were going to stay at home and take over the family farm.

Ambivalence with regard to success and rural life is a recurring theme of my own research, discussed in greater depth later in the thesis (e.g., Chapters Five and Six).

The Taylor Commission described the crofting townships on the west coast of mainland Scotland as doomed and moribund, and said that immediate action was needed if many places were to survive the next 20 years. The Commissioners concluded that, with some exceptions, the crofting communities "with a small and dwindling population, maintain a precarious existence on the Atlantic fringe of our industrial society and present upon the whole an aspect of decline and, in some parts, of dereliction" (1954: 87).

Forsythe also found that social life on the Orcadian island she studied was disintegrating in the post-war period, leaving behind a climate of depression. She quotes a Stormay woman recalling her feelings in the 1950s and '60s:

It gave you a sort of sad, sinking feeling, you know, when everybody was leaving it. It did give you that. I mean, you just felt...you just felt the time will be coming when you have to go...You see, at one time we felt it was just going to be two or three farms (left) maybe and hardly anybody on the island.

(1980: 289)

Similarly, the Taylor Commission wrote that crofts were not being worked well, and that there was:

a feeling of depression and despair in the minds of the people. This is not unnatural when so many townships are occupied by ageing folk who recall other days when the place was full of young and vigorous life, but who now look out on fields where rushes take the place of corn and the voices of children are heard no more.

(1954: 46)

They were nevertheless optimistic that the process could be reversed if proper measures were taken in time. The Crofters Commission was set up to regulate and develop crofting in 1955 after the Taylor Commission report. Its main objective was to 'maintain a thriving crofting community'.

Nearly ten years after the Taylor report, however, Moisley (1962) was still able to write anxiously that the population of the crofting counties had declined more in the last ten years than in the previous twenty. Furthermore, the overall net loss of 5.3% of the 1951 population concealed much greater losses in many areas. He wrote that depopulation becomes a vicious downward spiral when a certain 'point of no return' is reached, and clearly felt that many areas were approaching this crisis point if not already at it. Between 1921 and 1961, the Highlands and Islands had lost almost a quarter of their population, and those left were disproportionately the elderly. Crisis points are not necessarily purely to do with numbers and average age. McCleery writes of the Highlands and Islands that "Long-term population decline may also have led to some weakness in community leadership and a loss of entrepreneurial talent" (1991: 148). In contrast, Emmett noted that in the parish she studied in North Wales from 1958-62, 'staying in Llan' had always been given high priority and "the fact that intelligent, well-informed people have stayed in the community in the past means that the community is worth staying in now" (1964: 12).

In the Highlands and Islands, the fundamental problem in Moisley's opinion was low incomes and the lack of means to increase them. Dounreay, Harris tweed and pockets of tourism had shown, though, that where people could increase their incomes, they stayed. Moisley concludes:

Thus, whilst depopulation has continued, particularly in certain islands and more remote mainland districts, the census does underline that all is not lost, that stability is being achieved and that economic and population expansion can be brought about even in the most remote areas by enterprise and capital investment.

(1962: 200)

This steady, long term decline which seemed to be accelerating out of control in the post-war period did in fact come to an end in the 1960s. The 1970s saw population growth on a significant scale in the Highlands for the first time since the 1830s. However, it is a far from homogeneous region, and it must be remembered that it can show extreme variation. According to Caird (1972), from 1961-71, the total population of the Highlands and Islands increased for the first time since 1851, but this was concentrated round the burghs of the mainland areas, especially the Fort William, Thurso and Moray Firth areas. The overall Highland and Island increase from 1961-71 was 1.7%, almost double the Scottish rate of

0.9%, "suggesting that after two centuries a successful policy may have been found for the Highlands" (Caird, 1972: 10). In the first half of the '60s, even remote areas of the 'outer fringe', including Beulach, appeared to have experienced change from decrease to increase, possibly due to in-migration by retired people.

Caird noted that the crofter was overwhelmingly someone aged over 45. Since 1951, the area under crops and grass had declined, largely due to a system of intensification and withdrawal from marginal areas, more marked in the decade 1951-61. Caird thought that crofting rights and the low level of rents "have resulted in a rigid form of agrarian structure where there is no incentive to give up land even if the tenant is not using it" (1972: 20). Nevertheless, he comes to a more optimistic conclusion than earlier writers such as Moisley and the authors of the Taylor Commission report, saying that the Highlands and Islands were a 'problem' area in 1951, but by the early '70s this was no longer clearly the case. Population decline had reversed (in what he calls the 'inner zone'); the Highlands and Islands Development Board had encouraged firms to locate there; farming and crofting had declined but become more rationalised; fishing had revived and forestry and tourism had expanded. Therefore, there seemed to be more hope for the region in future.

A more recent analysis is offered by McCleery (1991). During the 1950s and '60s unemployment in the Highlands and Islands was about twice as high as in Scotland as a whole, and four times as high as in Great Britain. Under-employment was also a problem, with strategies of occupational pluralism used in the attempt to maintain adequate levels of income. However, she argues, the economic developments of the 1960s and '70s (in the fields of nuclear energy, tourism, manufacturing, and in particular oil and gas), together with the attendant social changes such as age-selective migration and structural ageing, have altered the trend and geographical pattern of population and prosperity in the Highlands and Islands. From 1971-81 the population of the Highlands and Islands increased by, at the most conservative estimate, 8.4% (and possibly as much as 12.5%). Shetland, Easter Ross and Inverness accounted for the bulk of this increase. The population also aged, but in line with most other Western countries. A very healthy 23% of the population were in the 25-44 year old category.

Since then, the Inverness area continues to prosper with the more remote areas still experiencing small declines in population. McCleery points out that "The aggregate pattern

which emerges from these analyses is very complex, consisting of many migration sub-systems often linked to highly specialised labour markets" (1991: 155). Unemployment varies widely: for example, in March 1987, more than one in four people in Wester Ross and Skye were seeking work, and less than one in fourteen in Shetland were in the same position. However, stated simply, the paradox of life in the Highlands and Islands is that the cost of living is generally higher than elsewhere in an area where per-capita income is generally lower than elsewhere. Because of the structure and sparsity of the population, the need for services is greater, yet the possibility of provision less. McCleery concludes that the population and employment increases of the 1970s were the result of special factors unlikely to be repeated. The general economic prospects for the region are weak. She views turnaround as a temporary anomaly, and states that "there are only slender grounds for optimism that population in the area as a whole will remain reasonably stable" (1991: 158).

Nevertheless, the population Census shows that in Highland Region the resident population rose from 187,008 in 1981 to 198,621 in 1991, a 6.2% increase caused mainly by immigration (including return migration), and there is an associated mood of optimism:

there are today remarkable signs of a renaissance in the North, a lift in confidence. [...] It is hard to put a finger on it, to explain just what has happened over the past twenty or thirty years to transform the picture, but the signs are unmistakable - there has been a cultural and economic revival [...] there has grown up a diversity of occupation, a mix of traditional employment and new jobs which seems to have struck a balance of opportunity, while at the same time the business of living in the Highlands [...] has become increasingly attractive to a new generation of incomers.

(Linklater, 1997: 1)

As noted above, the Taylor report resulted in the founding of the Crofters Commission. A discussion of change in the Highlands and Islands would be incomplete without looking at the nature of this body, and the role it and the crofting system play in the Highlands and Islands.

The Crofters Commission currently employs 50 staff in Inverness, and 7 part-time commissioners and a part-time chairman (who live in the crofting counties and are active in their local crofting communities). It is funded by the Scottish Office at a cost of £1.4 million per annum. Altogether £10 million of public sector funds are spent on crofting each

year through a variety of grant schemes administered by the Crofters Commission and the Scottish Office Agriculture, Environment and Fisheries Department (SOAEFD). Crofting agriculture receives less than 2% of national expenditure on farming. Such grants as are given arguably have cumulative benefits: Shucksmith and Alexander (1994) conclude that every pound of public investment in crofter housing support creates two pounds of overall investment in the construction industry.

Crofters are ensured secure tenure, fair rents and an inalienable right to bequeath croft land to a family member. Reforms introduced in 1976 have also granted crofters the right to buy their croft. Crofts are currently defined as holdings of less than 30 hectares of in-by-land, or holdings with an annual rent not greater than £100, situated within the crofting counties. Macmillan (1996) estimates that crofters represent more than 20% of the total parish population in 51 out of the 161 parishes that constitute the crofting counties. Beulach is one of these 51 parishes. At the start of 1996 there were 17,671 registered crofts (3,172 of which are owner-occupied) occupied by an estimated 11,000-11,500 households with a total population of 33,350. The Scottish Crofters Union, founded in 1985, has a membership of around 4,000, which it estimates represents 40-50% of active crofting households.

Following his study undertaken for the Crofters Commission, Macmillan (1996) concluded that a number of factors underpin successful crofting communities and prevent rural depopulation: strong opportunities for generating income; good infrastructure and service provision; high rates of grant uptake; and a strong degree of motivation in individuals within the community (cf., Smailes and Hugo, 1985). Crofting policy influences these factors through the provision of grants and the introduction of motivated individuals through the Croft Entrants Scheme - but its impact is limited as it has never sought to create jobs, and this is the most important determinant of migration. It is also argued that crofting legislation has been paternalistic in its outlook and this has fostered passivity. Decentralising decision making and offering crofters a greater chance to determine their own future through crofting trusts would counter this. The report recommends that crofting policy should strive to increase opportunities for income generation if it is to have a greater impact on population retention.

At this stage, now that the reader is acquainted with both the wider context of the counter-urbanisation debate and population change in the Highlands and Islands, I wish to examine

micro-level studies carried out so far before concluding the chapter and moving on to my own research.

Micro-Level Studies

Smailes and Hugo (1985) argue that a deeper theoretical understanding of causal mechanisms can be gained if macro-level analyses are paralleled and complemented by purpose-designed case studies. They found that in Australia, which is one of the world's most highly metropolitanised nations, there has also been a reversal of previous trends to urbanisation since the 1971 census. Non-metropolitan areas have experienced a net growth of jobs, and population growth since 1976 has favoured smaller urban centres. Australian evidence at the national and state levels confirms a turnaround effect, but does not point unequivocally to any single hypothesis as a dominant explanatory factor. In the five small communities surveyed by Smailes and Hugo, "the turnaround trend in the 1970s and 1980s appears to be a positive net result of a variety of individually small-scale processes" (1985: 42) - a combination of local small business, early retirement, long distance commuting and farming.

Bolton and Chalkley (1990) likewise argue that the understanding of the causes of turnaround from depopulation to repopulation in Britain's remote rural areas is hampered by the limited amount of empirical research. Empirical work that has been done has tended to rely on the essentially descriptive analysis of census data with relatively little work at the level of understanding the movement of individual households. In their opinion, the only UK exceptions to this rule are the studies of Dean *et al* (1984) and Jones *et al* (1984, 1986), both of which concentrated on coastal areas renowned for their scenic attractions. Bolton and Chalkley carried out a 300 interview survey in North Devon to begin to remedy this deficit. A sample of in-migrants and a control group of local households in a small market town and the nine immediately adjacent parishes were interviewed, and the authors found that "simple stereotypes dominated by the retired elderly, long-distance commuters and 'back-to-the-land' lifestyles could not do justice to the heterogeneity of the migrants and their motives" (1990: 29). Only 8% of newcomers were of retirement age and only 9% were return migrants. All the households were various forms of the nuclear family - there were no alternative lifestyles such as communes, and the authors argue from their evidence that the

literature has stereotyped and exaggerated the role of certain groups of migrants (the "bees, beans and brown bread" (1990: 40) group) numerically not of major significance.

There were not only differences between households but also differences between different stages of each household's decision process - i.e., their reasons for leaving the former area of residence, and their reasons for choosing North Devon. The authors conclude:

We are therefore faced with the problem of a reality which seems too complex and diverse to be accommodated into a single theoretical framework. And if this is true when set simply against the North Devon experience, it must be still more pertinent if we consider the wide range of contrasting geographical and cultural contexts within which the turnaround has proceeded.

(1990: 41)

The Beulach data, like the North Devon research discussed above, reveals, of course, a complex and diverse reality, but patterns can be identified (see Chapter Six). However, what Bolton and Chalkley do not recognise (similarly neglected in the other household questionnaire based research such as Lumb, 1980; Dean *et al*, 1984; Jones *et al*, 1984, 1986) is the way in which the survey format may influence respondents' accounts. This is discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

Dean *et al* carried out a postal survey of people resident in seven study areas of West Cornwall in 1982. They found that the majority of respondents were migrants of one sort or another. Newcomers to the area were more highly qualified than indigenous people. Of the three main categories in their sample (non-migrant, return migrant and non-return migrant) the non-returning migrant - i.e., newcomers - made up 43.3% of the total. The highest levels of retirement, education, owner-occupation and membership of classes I and II were found in this group. Dean *et al* also found that the majority of adult in-migrants were economically active and came from affluent parts of the UK, rather than regions with high unemployment. Like Bolton and Chalkley, they concluded that the main reasons for in-migration are likely to vary appreciably from one study area to another.

Jones (1982b) argued that fieldwork about migration at small community level has been limited and sporadic, both spatially and temporally, in Scotland. His 1984 work is an

attempt to remedy this situation. This was a survey of in-migrants (with a gender skew, discussed in Chapter Three) to six areas of the Highlands and Islands¹ from England and Wales. It revealed the primacy of quality of life considerations, long distance migration being motivated by "disenchantment with big city living and...seeking after a new life-style in what are perceived as environmentally attractive, stress-free and socially rewarding settings" (Jones *et al*, 1984: 438). Population growth in the Highlands and Islands since 1971 has taken place in many, often outlying, rural areas seemingly unaffected by oil development. The study areas were chosen as they had at least 10% of the population born in England and Wales and were outwith commuting range of the major urban centres and oil development. Jones found the incoming population to be much more youthful - only 11% were over 60 - than the receiving area's population, and also highly educated and relatively affluent. Nearly all had visited the Highlands and 75% the particular field area prior to considering a move there. Half of the economically active heads of households were self-employed, largely in the service sector. In other words, there was no significant decentralisation of industry to the field areas. Rather, in-migration was linked to the emergence of small scale business and work opportunities. The economically active section of the survey group had overall experienced a downward shift in occupational status and a reduction in household income. However, they often had capital from selling more expensive houses in the south. When asked to sum up the single most important reason for the household's move, 24% of respondents said employment, 2% said housing, 57% said to live in a nicer area (the majority mentioning the physical environment rather than people), 9% said to be near friends or relatives, and 8% gave other reasons.

The authors conclude that this type of migration:

is not only a move in physical and economic space; it also involves for most migrants a conscious social distancing from metropolitan work structures, consumption patterns and lifestyles generally.

(1986: 25)

¹ North west Skye, Gairloch, Lochinver, North Mull, Strathglass and Rothiemurchus. 367 interviews were carried out in September 1983, an overall response rate of 82% of identified non-Scots households.

An anti-urban ruralist undercurrent was transformed into international counter-urbanisation by the unparalleled expansion of affluence in the 1960s. In the opinion of Jones *et al*, peripheral area counter-urbanisation could be maintained without the context of societal affluence that spawned the movement. They believe that in the context of world economic restructuring and rapid technological change, there is likely to be a continued contraction in formal job opportunities, so there may perhaps be a flow of less affluent but similarly environmentally motivated people to the periphery - a ruralist self-reliance. Their survey findings showed that economically active incomers since 1980 are noticeably less affluent, with a higher proportion unemployed.

In her study of migration to Hampshire and Staffordshire, Harper (1991) found that decisions made in the late '50s and early '60s were typically based on personal prior association with the area, while in the far larger surge of counter-urbanisation since, the area is unknown to the household prior to its relocation. However, she argues that counter-urbanisation is not one mass movement, but locality based, and will vary in its process between different areas. To be comprehended, it must be considered at macro and micro levels, and:

it is important to emphasize that there is typically no one dominant 'reason' - rather a combination of factors that can only be understood in relation to the wider migration context of the household.

(1991: 32)

There have been several other relatively recent studies in Scotland in addition to that of Jones *et al* (1984). Rosemary Lumb directed research carried out in 1978-79 across several small communities in the Highlands and Islands.¹ She challenges the "tacit assumption that population totals are meaningful indices of demographic stability" (1982: 61). Apparently stable numbers usually conceal a variety of types of migration within a local population and often mask a very fragile social structure. For example, the time span of in-migration is critical: the impact of 27 people arriving in Eday during the 1970s was much greater than the 45 who came to Ardgour over a 40 year period. Similarly, Forsythe's study of urban

¹ Latheron in Caithness; Glenfinnan, Kinlocheil and Ardgour in Lochaber; Scourie in Sutherland; Eday in the Orkneys; Berneray in North Uist.

refugees in a small Orcadian island found that in 1971 the island had only a fifth of the population of a century before, and half of this population was aged over 40. The urban in-migrants began to arrive at the end of the 1960s. By 1978, there were 70 urban in-migrants, including their children, 68% of whom were English, and most of whom were middle class. In a sense, their arrival has saved the island community, but although population size is now steady, the composition of the community has changed rapidly. The subpopulation of Stormay folk remains ageing and in decline. Forsythe concludes that:

Stormay is being swamped by the people the islanders thought would rescue them, people who show little understanding of Stormay's traditional way of life, and little interest in adapting themselves to it.

(1980: 301)

In her study of the Scottish fishing village of Ferryden, Nadel (1984, 1986) also found a sharp divide between True Ferrydeners and Incomers. She criticises the equation between 'village' and 'community' as it may obscure the presence of important social boundaries within a given locale. Similarly to the Stormay case, the True Ferrydener community, as it was self-defined, was doomed as it could not last beyond the lifetime of its youngest members, who were far from young.

In Lumb's study, out of the total population of the seven communities, only 55% were born in the place they now lived in, and half of these were return migrants, i.e., 75% of all the people in the areas she studied had some experience of migration. This leads her to state that:

The image of the Highland community populated by people born and bred there and with little experience of the wider world is therefore demonstrably inaccurate: the population is highly mobile and non-migration is the exception rather than the rule. Migration, therefore, statistically at least, is not deviant, but normative behaviour

(1982: 62)

She found that in the seven communities she studied, land rights played a particularly significant role in deterring out-migration. In general, the young and single are most prone to migrate, and this was certainly the case in her study areas, where more than two thirds of migrants had left and returned while single. Marriage was a common reason for ending

migration, whether by staying away or returning to place of birth. Overall it was clear that for a great many people migration was only ever a temporary response to the depressed economy at home. She did however find that there was some evidence that young people do not leave the Highlands as automatically as in previous generations, with a high proportion of the children of present residents remaining in the local area. Lumb concludes:

I believe the number of returned migrants taking up unskilled, poorly paid and often unpredictable jobs besides overcoming difficulties in housing are sufficient evidence for accepting the commonly-held belief that many people leave rural areas by necessity, not choice, and that the opportunity to return is something which many out-migrants would accept.

(1982: 68)

Her study is now over fifteen years old but this conclusion has strong echoes in the Beulach data, albeit with more evidence of ambivalence in attitudes towards home, success, and leaving.

Similarly, in Ferryden the local dictum was "you have to get out to get on" (Nadel, 1984: 107) and many of the older True Ferrydeners had spent their entire working lives away from the village, returning only after they retired.

Linda Macleod (1995b) also criticises the implication in much work that 'the norm' is a situation of no incomers, and that rural repopulation has been caused by a flood of 'urban refugees'. Her study of a large west coast Highland village found that only 13% of the respondents had always lived there - 9% were return migrants and 78% had moved there from elsewhere. Of the people who had moved to the village, only 29% were English, while 35% came from other parts of the Highlands and Islands, and 35% came from elsewhere in Scotland. Over half had moved from a rural area and 66% were brought up in rural areas. The scenery and environment were valued by all, not just by in-migrants, and unlike the findings in the work of Jones *et al* on counterstream migration, only 35% of in-migrants had experienced a decrease in income, and 52% were doing the same type of job as before their move.¹

¹ The research consisted of 83 questionnaire based interviews (a response rate of 67%), taken as a random sample from the electoral register (1 in 15).

In a further study, Macleod interviewed 53 school pupils aged 14-16, a quarter of whom were resident in my own field area. Two thirds of the respondents had lived in the school catchment area for over ten years. England and Lowland Scotland figured strongly as the origin of respondents' mothers, and the local area and Lowland Scotland figured most as the origin of fathers. Virtually all respondents said they would probably or definitely leave the area, with only 4% saying they would definitely remain. When asked their reasons for wanting to leave the area, employment figured most strongly in responses, followed by 'nothing to do'. 81% said they would probably or definitely stay if the area had better education facilities and job prospects, and a further 11% said they would stay if there were also better social facilities. Only 14% said they were not staying under any circumstances. Other questions found a high level of community satisfaction, but this did not seem to affect intentions to migrate. There seemed to be a trade-off between there being 'nothing to do' and the benefits, overwhelmingly cited as beautiful scenery, privacy and peace, and a friendly community. As a local from the area herself, Macleod felt that it was regarded as almost inevitable by teachers, parents and the community as a whole that young people would want to leave the area, and that it is beneficial for them to do so:

I felt that this was apparent to such an extent that those who leave the area - even for a short time - are regarded as more capable/achieving/socially aware than those who have not, the basic underlying assumption being that anyone who doesn't leave has not done so because he/she hasn't the skills or motivation to do so, not because they may choose to stay.

(1995a: 2)

This assumption was also made by some young people in the Scottish Borders (Jamieson and Jones, forthcoming), and is evident in my own research (see Chapters Five and Six).

Conclusion

Across the developed world - Western Europe, Australia and the USA - there has been a century-long process of urbanisation. From the early 1970s, it became evident that a process of counter-urbanisation was at work, reversing to a degree some of the earlier demographic shifts. This pattern is not now so marked, and it is uncertain whether 'rural renaissance' is a long-term trend or a temporary anomaly. Nevertheless, it is clear that many

remote rural areas have in the last two decades experienced more population stability or increase than at any point in the last hundred years.

The Highlands and Islands area of Scotland has paralleled these trends, particularly in the less remote areas, e.g., the environs of Inverness. The 'outer fringe', where Beulach is located, has experienced a less vigorous 'renaissance'.

Within small communities, research has charted and analysed their members' values and expectations with regard to rural community life. There are clearly many subtle nuances to be explored around the issues of nostalgia, belonging, success, etc. The concept of thresholds of population below which social and economic life ceases to be viable (loss of services, 'community spirit', etc.) is a recurring theme. Moreover, stable population numbers can mask the processes of demographic and associated change (Lumb, 1982; Forsythe, 1980). It is clear also that certain in-migrants have had a disproportionately high profile: the type called "bees, beans and brown bread" by Bolton and Chalkley (1990: 40); and in the Highlands and Islands, the English. In-migrants in many studies have been more educated and affluent than the average for the area they were moving into, but some authors (e.g., Jones *et al*, 1986) note that this could be changing: with the contraction of formal employment opportunities, ruralist self-reliance may be increasingly attractive.

Weaknesses in the body of research dealing with these issues have already been identified: e.g., Harper (1991), and Smailes and Hugo (1985) call for purpose-designed case studies to parallel and complement macro-level analyses, and thus further theoretical understanding of causal mechanisms. Bolton and Chalkley (1990) argue that the understanding of the causes of turnaround from depopulation to repopulation in Britain's remote rural areas has been hampered by the limited amount of empirical research. Empirical work that has been done has tended to rely on the essentially descriptive analysis of census data with relatively little work at the level of understanding the movement of individual households.

Various studies have attempted to remedy this (Bolton and Chalkley, 1990; Dean *et al*, 1984; Jones *et al*, 1986; Lumb, 1980, 1982; Gray, 1993). However, these have all relied on questionnaires administered across areas that the researchers have little in-depth knowledge of. This is discussed in Chapter Three, which will set out in detail the methods I used in my

own research, before the rest of the thesis takes up an examination of the themes highlighted here.

CHAPTER THREE

Methods

Introduction

The issues discussed in this chapter have been constant companions over the last three years. At times, the form of my data collection has been a dominant preoccupation to the virtual exclusion of the content of the data itself. With the growth of reflexivity in praxis as a goal, these issues cannot be ignored, yet a fine balance must be struck where they are acknowledged without sociology becoming entirely navel-gazing and insular. Sue Scott has argued eloquently that sensitivity should not lead to paralysis in the research process (BSA summer school, 1996), and Strathern also sounds a note of caution, asking if we are "destined only to increase an ever more exquisite self-consciousness?" (1987: 18).

When the first draft of this chapter was written, I felt I could devote my whole thesis to these epistemological concerns. The following version has been pruned back severely into discrete sections dealing with the gamut of methodological issues, processes and decisions made. Consequently, given the constraints of space and structure, I have skated over the surface of many things worth more extensive debate. Certainly, the ethnographer has to include personal reflection and an explicit discussion of methods, and yet somehow also leave room for the wealth and range of data collected. As the discipline grows more reflexive, this will be a problem we face increasingly when 'writing up' research, particularly within the far more restricted limits of the journal article (cf., Mauthner and Doucet, 1997). The thesis, at least, allows me the scope of a whole chapter.

Locating Myself: Why Beulach?

Beulach is an area which I have long been drawn to and interested in. From the beginning of my undergraduate degree in 1989, I had plans to do some kind of research project there, but for practical reasons this was not possible until I received a Ph.D. scholarship in 1994. So it was very much the case that I had been mulling research issues over for years in connection with this particular area, rather than, as it were, coming to it cold. I also had an interesting 'in between' status, neither belonging to the area nor a stranger to it (cf., Jenkins, 1984).

Before beginning my fieldwork, I wrote confidently in a research design paper that I was in no way considered a local but neither was I a stranger. Reality, as is its wont, was more complex: I found that with many I had almost an honorary local status (or, indeed, 'real' local links were assumed), whilst to many others I was a stranger.

Location in the field is, of course, a dynamic status, changing over time. This process is often lost in the rather static snapshots of reflexivity given by social scientists. For this reason, I return to the subject of 'locating myself' in two later sections of this chapter. This section deals with the background - how things stood when I first moved to Beulach.

It was certainly the case when I moved to the parish that I had not been involved in any quarrels or feuds that could be seen as placing me in one 'faction' or another (although my choice of residence inevitably instantly affected this - see section below on key informants). At the same time, my family was fairly well known locally due to long-standing ties with the area. My grandfather, a broadcaster and journalist well-known in Scotland, began going there in the 1930s. I myself had stayed there nearly every year of my life for varying lengths of time, including a summer season spent working in a hotel when I was eighteen.

Obviously, there are certain benefits to being a 'stranger'. You are expected to be naive, and so can often say things or ask questions that would be considered peculiar if you were a member of the community. However, on balance I felt before beginning my research, and still think now, that the possible benefits of being a complete stranger were in my case far outweighed by the benefits of being known, in a small community where people can be very cautious about what they say, and to whom. To take oral history interviews as an example, many older people in Beulach have known me since I was a small child, and so I already had relatively relaxed and informal relationships with them, in which they were used to and, I think, pleased by my interest in hearing stories about the area and their own life there.

Although I had thought it would be beneficial, I had underestimated how positive what might be called the 'granddaughter effect' would be! This was not so much the case with my own age group, but with older people it seemed to have the good consequences that firstly, I was 'placed' into a genealogical context and my connections with the area were understood; and secondly, my grandfather was remembered with affection as someone who was a lot of fun to be with. Also, as he had publicised the area through his work, he was regarded to

some extent as VIP local property. Virtually every man over 40 in the parish seemed to have 'had a dram' with him at some point. In this respect, I was glad to be female and not male, as this seemed to exempt me from having to live up to him in the fishing and drinking stakes, and in general being a 'chip off the old block'.

In the initial stages of my fieldwork, I was conscious that my knowledge of the area and people living there led me to ask questions and find out far more than I would have otherwise. For instance, I had read a section in *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland* which mentioned the high levels of pluriactivity in Beulach. An example was given of the local painter who was also the undertaker and tied and sold fishing flies in his spare time. Not long after I had moved to Beulach, the exterior of the house I was staying in was repainted. As I had heard someone mention previously that the decorator was the undertaker too, I asked him about the Statistical Account while we were having a cup of tea. It turned out that the man mentioned there was his father, and in the course of a short chat he told me quite a lot about his family that I would not have found out about if I had not had the background knowledge sufficient to make the connection.

Nevertheless, I was aware of the dangers of getting too complacent about this. I tried to bear in mind Angus Macleod's comment about his research in his home village, that "had an outsider asked any insensitive questions it would have been bad enough - had I done so it would have been inexcusable" (1992: 89). There were other important issues to do with familiarity and strangeness that had to be taken into account. Firstly, as Cohen writes, "with increasing familiarity, the society appears to be ever more complex; the temptation to qualify statements about it grows increasingly insistent, until one is reluctant to say anything at all" (1987: 204). Secondly, he talks of how he and his wife quickly stopped regarding Whalsay as primarily a place to study, and began to think of it as 'home'. Their attachment to its members became personal and emotional rather than academic. This issue has preoccupied me over the last few years, as in my case it was a personal and emotional attachment to a particular area that I already knew well, that led me to pursue academic issues there rather than in any other Highland village.

Fieldwork is a complicated and tiring process for anyone, as it involves trying to enter into a social world and stand back from it at the same time. Over-identification can result in ceasing to be sufficiently critically aware. Before I moved to Beulach, I was conscious of

this as something that could quite easily happen to me, and planned to build in periods away from the field to counterbalance this. In practice, I found the ethical and emotional issues involved more complex and exhausting than I had anticipated, as will be discussed below.

The Pilot Study

From the summer of 1993, I made more regular and frequent short visits to the parish. I stayed there for around three months, on and off, spending a considerable amount of time speaking to people about research issues. In October 1994, I began my Ph.D., and spent the first year in Edinburgh reading and taking classes towards an M.Sc. by Research. I moved to Beulach at the end of June, 1995. I spent the summer conducting interviews and writing my M.Sc. dissertation, which was a pilot study concentrating on the issues of demographic stabilisation and population turnaround in remote rural areas. For the M.Sc., I reviewed the literature on counter-urbanisation and compared this with the experience of Beulach. The dissertation drew on local statistics, a few interviews and the beginnings of my fieldnotes.

I found doing the M.Sc. dissertation very helpful, not least because it forced me to start fieldwork, when I felt as if I was suffering from stage fright. Of course, it also highlighted issues of interest in the data, and potential problems in the collection of the data. For example, the significance of ambivalence (the way feelings of pride and belonging about Beulach were linked to strong views that to be successful you must go away - almost like a rite of passage to being a socially competent person) was uncovered. The most salient of the issues thrown up by the pilot study relating to methods were to do with access to different types of people; the inadequacies of 'smash and grab' survey work; narrative and self-presentation; and initial discoveries about my own strengths and weaknesses as a researcher.

Why These Methods?

Research into issues surrounding population change has so far shown an over-reliance on questionnaire-type surveys, often over large geographical areas, carried out by people with no in-depth knowledge of the area or the people to whom they are speaking (e.g., Lumb, 1980; Jones *et al*, 1984, 1986). In their 1986 article, Jones *et al* remark that 29 households where the wife was the only non-Scot (invariably married to a local man) were removed

from their analysis. This means that analysis was only of couples where both were long-distance migrants or the male head of household was a long-distance migrant. In my opinion this is an odd decision, which would probably not have been taken by researchers with more in-depth experience in these areas, as the in-marrying woman has been a crucial and characteristic type of long-distance migrant to the Highlands for at least a large part of this century.

Another drawback of using this type of questionnaire could well be that, as Dean *et al* (1984) point out, people are expected to account rationally for behaviour and are therefore likely to accept or identify from a list reasons like 'moved for employment', or 'moved for better environment'. Choosing one of these statements obviously provides an explanation that is shorter, more coherent and simple than real life ever is. Bolton and Chalkley (1990) state that reality is complex and diverse, and the factors in the process of migration decisions change at different stages, but they do not seem to be aware that, potentially, different factors are selected or emphasised by the informant depending on a host of other factors: e.g., how well they know the interviewer; whether they are ticking boxes beside summary statements or talking about their life in a relatively informal context; how their present circumstances may affect the way they look back on and restructure their own life history; and so on.

Questionnaires like this also give a very two dimensional picture of informants. This was brought home to me by the fact that I lived in the same house as one of my interviewees for a week, and so had many conversations with him, heard him speak to other people, and heard others' opinions about him. The sociological literature on methods emphasises the importance of knowing whether your informants are, for example, key or marginal figures in whatever society or group is being studied (Bell and Newby, 1971). I do not see how it is possible to judge this accurately in a one-off interview, which by definition must make the informant seem more 'central' than they might otherwise be seen to be. If all I had known of the interviewee mentioned was the ninety minutes spent in a taped interview, I would have had a very different and less interesting and complex picture of him.

Another factor is the use of particular methods for particular issues: Jedrej and Nuttall note that one-off surveys are used to examine transient groups of incomers, while "locals, a

community with a culture, are defined and investigated historically by themselves and by others" (1995: 120).

Altogether, it seemed to me that a structured questionnaire, administered over a wide geographical area by a number of different people with no particular knowledge of the locality they are in, is not a very effective way of finding out about these issues. I felt that combining a variety of methods was both an original approach and one that might yield very rich data.

My pre-fieldwork judgement of Beulach had been that a substantial period of fieldwork was necessary to get to know people and for them to get to know me, as I did not feel that I would get very far just turning up with a tape recorder. This was completely vindicated. I got to know the appropriate behaviour, how to make indirect approaches, and who through. For example, I was able to interview the wealthy and largely absentee landowner, through another landowner who was a friend of us both. Without her intercession on my behalf, I probably would not have got access to this man at all. Of course, the disadvantage of this approach is that I then felt I had to be careful to make the interview a pleasant experience, or it would reflect badly on our mutual friend. In general, knowing who was around to speak to, how best to approach them, and so on, took some considerable time.

At one level, I felt sure that the methods I was using were the most suitable for the research area. However, I also worried about validity, objectivity, etc., so I was reassured to find similar decisions and judgements made by other researchers (cf.: Emmett, 1964; Stoller, 1989; Thompson, 1981).

The next section outlines in more detail what I actually did whilst in Beulach.

Praxis

Participant Observation

As mentioned above, I moved up to Beulach at the end of June, 1995, and spent that summer doing my M.Sc. In September, I was away, in Edinburgh and at conferences, returning to Beulach in October and spending from then until the end of the year settling in and getting to know more people. This seemed to me crucial, and I agreed with Bowen that:

I must learn to judge more accurately my particular standing with particular people and I must also learn the public rating of permissible topics. I must be content to learn by degrees...There was no shortcut. I could force the pace a little, but I must also acquire the sensitivity that would tell me how far.

(1954: 91)

I spent most of 1996 in the parish, with two breaks of around three weeks each in Edinburgh, and officially moved away from the parish in November, although I then returned for three weeks over Christmas and New Year. This ongoing connection with the parish is likely to remain, whether to conduct further research or for social reasons, which has implications for my writing, discussed at the end of this chapter.

While in the parish, I spent my time in participant observation: visiting people; attending meetings and helping out in voluntary organisations; going to art classes and lunches at the old people's centre; shopping and babysitting; etc. In some respects, my research was very easy, as participant observation is suited to Beulach life: Beulach people talk about Beulach and the people who live in the area all the time (see Chapter Seven). However, it was not entirely normal to flit between many different social groups: as Parman notes, "my meeting with all types of people...put me in an ambiguous category - a person of uncertain status" (1990: 17). People often remarked on the amount of people I knew and spoke to.

I had planned to spend periods away from the field, and found that a couple of trips away for conference attendance were very beneficial to the progress of my research. However, the bulk of time away tended to be in response to various personal circumstances. With hindsight I wish I had planned more regular university contact - this would have helped when I was feeling unfocused, and uneasy about the validity and morality of my research.

Participant observation feels strange as it turns notions of 'work' on their head. People in Beulach probably assumed that when I was not visible I was working, while I often felt that it was work when I was out and about visiting (and when I was not visible I was 'skiving', in my room reading or walking in the hills). Chatting to people, visiting, etc., was often very enjoyable, but it could also feel like arduous 'emotional work', where I had to keep smiling and appearing caring and involved, whatever my real thoughts were.

In sum, I found living in the parish and participating in day-to-day life to be a very effective means of data collection, but one that I was not particularly comfortable with, for reasons discussed below.

Key Informants

Before moving to Beulach, I was already aware that it was a gossip- and feud-ridden place, and I would be identified to an extent with the character and circumstances of whoever I lived with. However, rented accommodation for a single person is hard to come by, and I was also aware that this could be quite isolating, and seen as an odd thing for a young woman on her own to do. Whilst in the parish I lived with Morag Macdonald, a woman in her fifties who was both a family friend and someone I had worked for when I was 18. I decided I wanted to live with Morag mainly because I liked her and thought we would get on well, but she is also well-known locally, and provided me with a ready-made local extended family.

Morag, although having lived in the parish for nearly 40 years, still identifies with her childhood home near the Solway Firth, and although viewed by most others as a local (by virtue of long residence, participation in parish affairs, and marriage into an influential family) herself seemed quite ambivalent about this.

Morag is a very astute and perceptive person, and has a sense of herself as between two worlds, not quite belonging to Bailemór. It seems from the ethnographic literature that this is true of many key informants. For example, Gearing writes of her key informant:

EC was very intelligent, cognizant of his cultural milieu, and aware that in many ways he did not conform to his own culture's norms. I thought at the time, and still do, that EC would make an excellent anthropologist himself.

(1995: 199)

I joked once or twice that I could do my whole Ph.D. from Morag's kitchen. This and a similar joke that I would dedicate the Ph.D. to her, horrified her, as she said some people would be offended and feel it was inappropriate that a non-local had been explaining life in Beulach. Despite this, talking all sorts of things over with her helped my research enormously and made my time living in Beulach a lot more enjoyable.

Morag is more direct and outspoken than many people in the parish, but also taught me a lot about 'survival' through appropriate behaviour, meeting local standards of tact and discretion.

Obviously as the year went on, I became more identified with the Macdonald family - information about them was the currency I was expected to trade in, when I went visiting. They are perceived as a fairly privileged and powerful family. This, combined with the status of my grandfather, and my friendship with a land-owning family to the south of Beulach, often made me anxious that I was overly associated with people of high socio-economic status. This was certainly true to an extent, but my earlier experience working in a Beulach hotel, and friends made in my teens while on holiday (combined with trying to speak and be friendly to everyone I met), helped to counterbalance it.

Living in such close proximity with one family, it was easy to be lulled into feeling that I knew everything that was going on with them, which was of course not the case. During similar fieldwork in the north-east of Scotland, Munro had a serious misunderstanding with one of her key informants, and describes the result thus:

I felt sick, emotionally and physically. I immediately doubted my understanding of all my fieldwork experiences. The incident showed me how much my confidence in my skills as a fieldworker and writer rested in my belief that I could correctly understand something of and trust my closest friends.

(1996: 15)

Although nothing this serious happened to me, I was taken aback to discover that I had been unaware that the whole family had been boycotting a local café all winter. I think perhaps I had been absent when the decision was first taken, as it was directly announced to me by Morag that she and her daughter had just been in the café. She was slightly embarrassed when she realised I did not know why this was significant, and then explained that the couple who owned the café had owed her son money. When I said, discomfited, that I had quite frequently used it myself, Morag went on to say they had not wanted to tell anyone of their decision as it was so awkward, as they knew the café owners were having a lot of problems. Conversely, at other times I was treated very much as one of the family, and told of family difficulties that I would almost have preferred not to know of.

I also had other friends who were key informants. Particularly worth mentioning here are a few men in their twenties and thirties who were connected in a variety of ways to the fishing industry. Without their information and 'chaperoning', access to this extremely male-dominated sphere would have been uncomfortable at best.

In a position of trust with my 'key informants', particularly those I lived among, I often felt unable or reluctant to 'write up' certain things in my fieldnotes, and in general found the whole issue of friendships and trust an ethical minefield.

Fieldnotes

I kept fieldnotes throughout my time in the parish. The fieldnotes contain observations and information about village life, notes on my feelings about the research, and some written up chats and interviews that were not recorded. Originally, influenced by Mills' 'Appendix on Intellectual Craftsmanship' (1959), I had wanted to keep these in longhand in a hardback book. This felt more personal and confidential and was also much easier to do late at night than to start up my computer and type. However, by the time I had written about a hundred pages in my notebook, I was increasingly anxious about losing what would be the irreplaceable basis of my work. For this reason, I switched to keeping notes on computer, although I did find this meant I kept them less regularly for two reasons: firstly, the practical inconvenience of having to go to my room and start up the computer, etc., and secondly, that this method exacerbated feelings that what I was doing was rather underhand and sleazy, as it was no longer possible to pretend to myself that it was 'just a diary' (see section on ethics below). Eventually, I settled for carrying a spiralbound notepad everywhere, filling it with scrappy notes which I typed out in detail later, but seldom on a daily basis. This was something I felt constantly guilty about, due to an ideal type ethnographer I seemed to have constructed before the realities of 'the field' impacted on me. I came to the conclusion that to do participant observation perfectly would involve severe sleep deprivation. The more I wrote up during the day the more I missed: even sometimes going downstairs in my own house for a coffee to find that my landlady and her daughter-in-law had been discussingcroft tenancies and boundaries, and I had missed it. I felt that I was performing a constant tightrope act, balancing between the demands of data collection and recording.

Although I felt my fieldnotes fell a long way short of my ideal, there are still lots of them, so I am glad, for sheer data management reasons, that I was not the mythical perfect insomniac ethnographer I had hoped to be. Geertz describes participant observation as a research method that turns out to be a wish not a method (1988: 83), so perhaps my experience is common.

Interviews

In addition to the fieldnotes, I have transcripts from 31 interviews, recorded on a Sony Professional with an external table-top mike. These interviews involved 34 people (19 men and 15 women; some were repeat interviews, some one-off interviews with couples, etc.).

The taped interviews tended to be with older people, concentrating on oral life history type material, although there were some other interviews with key local figures. The tapes were mostly transcribed shortly after the interview, so I could remember various gestures, nuances, reasons for interruptions to the recording, and so on.

While interviewing, I used an *aide memoire* designed to try to anchor people's accounts of 'what life was like' to specific events or periods, such as their marriage, or the time when their children were young. It is difficult to keep hold of the process of time, and much easier for people to talk in a then-and-now framework. I had anticipated this before carrying out my M.Sc. research, but found that the precautions I took in designing the *aide memoire* were not adequate. People cannot clearly remember exact years or periods of time if they have not thought carefully about it beforehand. They may be able to remember when they themselves left or returned to the village, but not when their siblings did so. I should have had the sense to realise this: my life is much shorter and I have only one sister, and yet it takes me a good while to work out when she lived in Ayrshire, when she worked in Germany, and so on. It was very hard to pin down people's impressions of changes and feelings about the area to particular times, and I am still not sure how, if at all, this can be done and the compression of time into 'then' and 'now' avoided. I tried to combat this by using specific personal, local and national events to locate memories and discussion in time as much as possible. Some useful locally significant examples were the arrival of electricity in the 1950s; and the arrival of colour television with all three channels in the late '70s. The Second World War was a significant marker for most people.

Access was not a problem at any point during the course of the research. Using personal contacts and indirect routes worked well and was appropriate Beulach behaviour. I had been concerned that I would always be channelled towards interviewing men who were generally perceived as public figures, good storytellers, or knowledgeable about history. In fact, female reluctance to be taped was not the problem I imagined it would be, in that I was quite easily able to interview nearly as many women as men. However, I still feel that perhaps a particular type of woman did not want to be taped - characteristically, those who had lived there all their lives, who were referred to by one of my non-native key informants as 'douce Highland ladies'.

I had no formal letter of agreement for interviewees to sign. I wanted to keep the atmosphere as relaxed as possible. I always explained that the tape was for my use, as it was easier than trying to take notes as people talked. I said that I would not play the tapes to anyone else. Some of the interviews I did involved discussions of schooling, quotes from which were used for an exhibition on education in the parish, mounted by the local history society. I returned to interviewees to get their approval of the quotes before they were used. This and growing numbers of people asking, would I be writing a book or 'using the old stories', led over the year to my saying more frequently that I would like eventually to use the material I had collected outwith the Ph.D., but would come back and seek permission (showing them the transcript) if this was the case. People seemed satisfied with this, only one man asking me to tell him more about myself and the project, and wanting to read through the transcript as soon as I had typed it.

Setting up interviews got much easier beyond a certain critical mass (and once I had bought a car), as people were more relaxed and open to the idea of an interview if their friends and acquaintances had already survived the interview with me, unscathed. The few repeat interviews I did always made me wish that I had done more, as people were generally very warm and welcoming (although polite and friendly first time round, at second interviews people would offer me 'a dram', etc.). However, even though I knew this, rationally, and knew that I found most interviews enjoyable once actually sitting speaking to the person, I found it very difficult to set up interviews and always approached them with feelings of dread. This is probably the common experience of most ethnographers:

I stood...wrestling with a sensation I came to know all too well in the months that followed: I wanted to talk to people; I couldn't bear to meet them. Even months later, when I could converse with ease and had my friends among these people, there remained that momentary pause, that same need to compel myself to step outside into their midst.

(Bowen, 1954: 27)

To an extent, 'saturation' (Bertaux, 1981) occurred, but I also feel frustrated with myself for allowing my personal diffidence to hold me back from interviewing more people. This will have to be done for reasons of tact if producing anything to be read locally - it would be impolitic to say the least, to overlook someone who considered themselves a 'real old local'.

Census Small Area Statistics

At the beginning of my M.Sc. research, I had plans to use the Census Small Area Statistics (CSAS) extensively. At that point I did not realise that they were only available for the last three censuses, and that the information in the 1991 CSAS was greater than that for 1981 and 1971 (Dale and Marsh, 1993). After various problems of access, I got a print-out of a considerable number of tables providing social, economic and demographic information about the Bailemór locality from the 1991 Census. I was not entirely satisfied with the accuracy of the data I had received for the M.Sc. (in terms of the area which it covered), so enlisted the help of the user support team at Edinburgh's Data Library.

The main problem with CSAS for my purposes is that data no longer exists at a parish level. Although the parish of Beulach was the enumeration district, data output areas are constructed from postcode sectors. This means that the 'best match' - aggregating eight of these small output areas - falls short of the total considered as 'Beulach' in other sources. This is discussed in more detail in the demographic profiles in Chapter Four (cf., Gray, 1993, for similar problems). Aside from this major problem, CSAS provide interesting information on age/sex structure, birthplaces and house tenure, but are of limited use in some respects.

Standing alone, Census data mask many of the processes and structures I am interested in. For example, they are not very helpful about migration nor about employment. A very high proportion of Beulach residents have more than one way of earning money, some official and some not, and even someone who had defined themselves as 'economically inactive' and

was largely so, might well take on an occasional evening's work at the pier or in a restaurant. As Lumb (1982) pointed out, stable numbers can conceal fragile structures, and it is impossible to judge from population totals, numbers self-employed, and so on, what is really happening. For example, it is clear that most Beulach residents were born in Scotland, but this does not show, e.g., the proportions from the Highlands and Islands as compared to the proportion of former urban residents from the Central Belt.

Register of Sasines

The Register of Sasines is a little used resource, held at the Scottish Land Registers, in Edinburgh. The Sasines were not suited for what I had originally hoped to find - the history of one crofting township - as they only record the sale of a property. Where the land has been owned by the estate and lived on by the same crofting tenants for decades, the only mentions in the Sasines are improvement grants (and it is unfortunately not specified what these are for, which would also have been interesting - e.g., when houses got upstairs bedrooms, indoor toilets, etc.).

The records are half-way through being computerised. Transactions from the end of 1996 are only on computer. Earlier ones are still in folio volumes and imperfectly entered on computer. I had to combine searching methods (computer; volumes; places and people) to try to get comprehensive cover. It would have been virtually impossible without my extensive knowledge of places and people in Beulach. For example, in earlier entries it is often unclear whether it is just land that is being referred to, or buildings too.

Nevertheless, they still provided interesting information about where buyers have come from, and how much they have paid for properties, and also counter-intuitive data, contrary to myths about property in scenic Highlands areas: i.e., that a large proportion of sales were people buying their own council houses.

The Sasines were a fascinating resource in that people do not ever talk about the prices of things such as houses in the Beulach area, so this is not data you can come by in the course of participant observation. Indeed, people would be horrified to realise that I or anyone could access such information, which has ethical implications that resulted in my anonymising becoming more thorough-going.

Locating Myself: In The Field

As Geoff Payne (mimeo) remarks, what makes researchers think that we are getting to the core of things when we are documenting enduring and almost insurmountable boundaries between locals and outsiders, and the ethnographer is even more of an outsider?

From this point of view, the ethnographer has a more than even chance in Beulach, as there seems to have been an adaptation to migration and population turnover, meaning that people are accepted if they are friendly, useful and helpful. Certainly, I did not receive anything approaching the treatment given to Schweizer (1988) during his fieldwork in Sardinia: he mentions, almost as an unproblematised aside, that he continued to be treated as a guest for the whole period he was there.

Being my grandfather's granddaughter continued to be of enormous benefit. For example, a Beulach school had a centenary reunion, which I attended in order to meet people who had moved away from the parish. I was aware of people discussing and identifying me through my grandfather, and everyone was very friendly and happy to speak with me about their reasons for leaving Beulach. Throughout the year, people quite frequently remarked that my grandfather 'was more or less viewed as a local, wasn't he'.

I continued to steer clear of feuds, and was never aware of anyone cutting me dead because I lived with the Macdonalds (although there were certainly some people who would not speak to some of the Macdonalds). I was, however, identified with Morag through living with her and attending meetings together - people often treated me slightly as if I was her PA.

I became more identified with the family I was living with, and also with friends. I was often aware of being used (or attempts being made to use me thus - to which I responded if it was non-sensitive information) as a source of information about those living 'on the other side' of Bailemór, or about various voluntary organisations I helped with (such as the committees running the Highland Games, Community Woodlands, History Society, etc.).

In general, it seemed that 'studying' is a fairly well respected occupation in Beulach (as long as it does not go on for ever), and I did not encounter any direct problems or hostility about the fact that I was a student. I was very seldom asked what I was doing (a few asked if I was writing a book), but when it was spoken about, people were very positive about the idea

of someone collecting oral history. There was a tendency to assume I was a history student despite my avowals of interest in other things. The most sensitive aspect of being viewed as such was trying not to tread on the toes of local historians and the local history society.

People were probably slightly mystified about how I could spend so much time wandering around chatting to people and sitting in committee meetings, but on the whole, students are very much a normal part of Beulach life. This is in terms of people coming to carry out studies in the area (in particular, history, geology, biology and geography students) and also, of course, those from Beulach going away to study - for many years, a desirable route out of Beulach (see Chapter Five).

As female, young and non-local, it fitted appropriate roles for me to be in a deferential, listening and learning mode (cf., Crawford, 1995: 133). I sometimes felt I should be more challenging in interviews, and give people a little less of a free rein in favourable presentations of self. On balance and in retrospect, though, I think it was wiser, and more courteous, to ensure the interviews were a pleasant experience for those involved. One man agreed to be interviewed saying he was happy to as I did not have 'an aggressive manner like a journalist', and I quite frequently received indirect reports back that old people I had interviewed thought I was a 'nice girl' or even an 'absolute sweetie'!

Recognising your limitations and strengths seems to me a key lesson of fieldwork. Being a nice girl meant I was relatively inoffensive, but also that I did not get told many of the seamier stories of village life, at least until later in the fieldwork when I had made closer friends.

The issue of asking 'insensitive questions' changed and developed as I became increasingly viewed as a local resident. When Bowen got upset by various scandals during her fieldwork, she decided to visit more distant homesteads:

They knew I did not know the details of their private lives. Therefore I felt free to ask about ceremonies, marriage customs and kinship. It is embarrassing to ask a man to discourse on fraternal loyalty, if you know he has just done his brother out of two goats.

(1954: 139)

This scenario was a real problem for my ideas about how I should be conducting interviews (e.g., everyone being asked the same biographical questions: see also Emmett, 1964: xiii). Eventually I more or less gave up on my ideal as impractical and unhelpful and just heard what people were prepared to say, trying to coax a bit more out of them but not forcing it. I decided the risk of antagonising or upsetting someone was just not worth it, since it would jeopardise future access, as people who had talked to someone previously interviewed by me were more positive and welcoming than those who knew little about me. At various times I interviewed people whose backgrounds included alcoholism, illegitimacy, extra-marital affairs, nervous breakdowns, and so on. I tried to ask fairly open-ended biographical questions that would leave the interviewee with the option of speaking about or skirting these issues.

Going Native

It is not a question of going native...It is a question of living a multiplex life:
sailing at once in several seas.

(Geertz, 1988: 77)

Interestingly, many writers on reflexivity seem to have been unaware of how their emotional and academic life connected until during or after fieldwork - whereas for me it was an issue from the inception of the project. Despite the fact that it is clear that many ethnographers come to their places and subjects of study because of personal links, emotional attachments, etc., (e.g., Emmett, 1964; Willson, 1995; Munro, 1996) I still felt as if I was coming at the whole thing back to front and would be exposed as a fraud - because I wanted to live there for a year for a lot of non-academic reasons, and the viable research project was constructed round that. It may in fact be the exception rather than the rule that someone chooses a field site for entirely 'objective' reasons - and given the salience of emotional relationships and interaction to successful ethnography, would this scenario not just make for a slower start to the research?

'Increasing familiarity' was the problem I had expected it to be. Life in Beulach did become the self-evident norm. Indeed, Ph.D.s and academia seemed stranger and stranger, less and less justifiable! This was tempered, however, by the frequent visits of friends and having to explain things about Beulach life to them, and by my trips back to Edinburgh.

Because Beulach was my work and my social life it became all-encompassing and it was easy to feel it was the end of the world if something went wrong. Interestingly, this world-view is said to be typical of Beulach (see Chapter Seven).

I became aware of a shift in where my loyalties and attachments lay, in the same way as Bowen realised her diary was now referring to the place she lived as 'home' (1954: 67). Time away in Edinburgh often made me suddenly realise how 'the norm' had changed for me. The principal reason for returning to Edinburgh when I did was to claw back some necessary distance (emotionally and physically). I could no longer see what was interesting, original, sociological. Despite it having been in many ways a difficult year, I cried when I left and miss many aspects of my life there.

Locating Myself: As Gendered

I had been aware before moving north, from my reading and from my previous experience of living and working there one summer season, that gender would be an issue. Okely has commented that female ethnographers are much more aware of their status as unmarried than their male colleagues and this features extensively in their accounts (1992: 19). Mascarenhas-Keyes argues that the behaviour of a female fieldworker is more closely scrutinised than that of a male (1987: 187). I was aware that this would be significant for me in an area where virtually all women my age have partners and many have children, and I would be something of a novelty.

In my M.Sc. dissertation, I wrote:

my long association with the area means that I am aware to an extent of how the appropriate way to behave differs from the urban, academic society I usually live in, but presumably I will also fail to notice or understand some things until after they have influenced people's impressions of me.

This was proved correct, but what I had failed to anticipate was how it would *feel*. What I also found difficult to deal with was feelings of helplessness: I had assumed that learning the appropriate way to behave would be sufficient, and had not taken on board the fact that I would be talked about regardless. I was told on many occasions by many different people that it was 'just Beulach' and I 'shouldn't take it to heart', but I found this advice very hard to

follow (although I tried outwardly to make a good show of paying rumours no heed or laughing them off). With hindsight, I can see it was probably a mistake to live like Mother Theresa for a year - I had thought being a model of good behaviour would be the most low-key, neutral and uninteresting thing I could do, but in fact it seemed to make me more intriguing and mysterious.

Whitehead (1976) and Middleton (1986) both had extreme difficulties as female ethnographers in small British communities. When Whitehead carried out her fieldwork in 1967, being seen to be alone with the same man more than once was the only necessary proof of a sexual relationship. Middleton experienced hostility culminating in a physical attack, after which female neighbours advised her to get a man or go away over Christmas and New Year. When she returned, she had her adult daughter convalescing with her. A combination of this and her being more circumspect led to a cessation of overt hostility:

Through violating cultural norms, I had discovered that the boundaries between men's space and women's space are strongly marked and that if I wanted to continue with my fieldwork I must do so in a culturally acceptable manner - I must keep in my place.

(1986: 129)

Both Whitehead and Middleton attempted to carry out the same type of fieldwork as a man would, e.g., going to pubs on their own. When I first read this I was amazed and could not decide whether it was brave or just foolish - even some twenty years on from their research, I would not do that in Bailemór. At first I had thought it would be fine to go to the pub in the company of a man, but realised a little belatedly that a great deal of attention was paid to who I was sitting with. Eventually I ended up going to the pub fairly infrequently, and only with mixed groups or local women, or friends from Edinburgh. Even this was not unproblematic, since one rumour about me having an affair seemed to have stemmed from being seen drinking with the man in question in a small mixed group where the other members were not known in the village.

Moreno states that "In a field situation, the mere fact that one is a single female anthropologist doing her own thing may present an intolerable provocation to some individuals" (1995: 220), so perhaps I was lucky to have as little trouble as I did. Attitudes to gender and sexuality were poles apart from the university city circles I was used to

moving in (e.g., attitudes were generally homophobic; and in nearly all scandals it seemed that men were regarded as morally weak and therefore not culpable, unlike women who were always blamed).

One female friend who grew up in Bailemór but has lived in cities for much of her adult life reiterated most strongly that there was nothing I could do that would protect myself from gossip. She said that just being who I was, regardless of behaviour, would provoke envy in some people, as I was educated, and free to leave Bailemór, and not trapped by marriage or children. This echoes Willson, who wrote:

I would suggest that nearly any woman outsider who cannot be controlled by the norms of the dominant society is typecast as loose: loose because she is truly independent, and because she is not controlled by the male-ordered society.

(1995: 263)

I was a bit slow to realise that what counts as sexual could be so different, so 'close to home'. I tried very hard never to appear to be flirting with men (successful to the extent that one of the first rumours I heard about myself was that I was gay), and not to be alone with them in their houses or other places away from the public sphere. However, I wrongly assumed that it would be perfectly okay to be seen talking to a man in the street (one middle-aged English friend laughingly told me this had been held up to her as 'evidence' that I might be having an affair with a particular man). Another friend told me that her mother had said that what was wrong was that I 'was interested in everybody, and really listened to what they said, and looked at them when they were talking'. She said that she knew I was just the same whether the person I was speaking to was male, female, old or young, but that Beulach men would take it as a sexual interest (for a pertinent discussion of eyes, the direct gaze and cultural misunderstandings, see Willson, 1995: 268).

I am still not sure how this is best resolved: obviously one approach is, like Munro after "a request to join my uncle's crew for a five day boat trip was quietly forgotten about" (1996: 12), to concentrate on the lives of women. However, I had not wanted to do this exclusively, although in practice I spent far more time with women (in settings which male ethnographers could not easily have accessed, e.g., people's kitchens, playgroups, etc.). It would seem that female ethnographers have to be more careful than male - while this can

seem hard, it is perhaps no bad thing in encouraging a reflexive and self-aware approach. I learned a lot about Beulach through attitudes towards me as a woman.

I think the easiest solution, from the point of view of trouble-free fieldwork, would have been to have brought a husband with me when I arrived. Unfortunately there was no scope for that in my personal life at the time! However, this would only work anyway providing neither of us embarked on an affair, and were not too obviously 'weird', as a female academic accompanied by house-husband would be. The study of Cauldmoss (Wight, 1993) was carried out by a man and woman. Wight acknowledges that this brought great advantages of access, but also problems: the researchers were living together (which shocked older people), without a sexual relationship (which shocked younger people).

Celibacy 'in the field' is perhaps appropriate when needed to retain standing and respect, but in fact it can be a problem - a puzzle for local people as you are not living like a normal adult (Dubisch, 1995; Gearing, 1995). As Killick points out, "in most cultural contexts, to be asexual is abnormal, and therefore suspect" (1995: 98). It was definitely the case that my apparently single status was intriguing, compounded by the fact that Beulach people will very seldom ask directly about such things. People were certainly speculating about why an apparently friendly, healthy and normal-looking 25 year old had no visible male partner. In the whole course of my stay, only four women, none originally from Beulach and all of whom knew me quite well, asked about my boyfriend.

I feel I should have been more resilient and cared less about gossip, when after all I knew rationally from reading and from participant observation that this was a major feature of village life, and also meant that to a degree I was seen as 'belonging' to local society. However, even when I felt worst, I still found it fascinating to try to analyse the processes and values involved. It did make me want to withdraw from village life, though - but acting guilt-free and confident was the best defusing measure (although it is amazing how hunted and guilty you start to feel, even when you have not done what you were supposed to have done: cf., Parman (1990)). At first this served to make it all more intriguing - 'has she hasn't she, it's better than soap opera' as one friend put it - but as I went on breezing about in a carefree manner and nothing sensational happened, things went the way of most such scandals in Beulach. Without evidence to feed the flame, stories about me died down to be replaced by the next scandal about someone else. However, no doubt to this day there are

pockets of people in Beulach who have seldom spoken to me who think of me as gay/the gold-digger who nearly married the local landowner/the one who wrecked the Macleods' marriage, etc.

Ethics

My M.Sc. methods section finished:

To conclude [...] I would like to reiterate that the techniques associated with participant observation seem to me both eminently suited to and under-used in research of the issues discussed in this dissertation. I would argue that it is inevitable that my personal characteristics (personality, age, gender, class, and so on) and my status in the community will affect to an extent who will talk to me and about what. I can however do certain significant things such as behave in a discreet and trustworthy way, and also in general try to be sensitive to the ways in which who I am may be influencing my findings, and allow space in my research design for documenting what these influences might be.

While I would still broadly agree with this conclusion, I am struck now by my pre-fieldwork tone of optimism. I had not allowed for the complexity and strength of my feelings about emotional relationships, trust and betrayal. Mid-fieldwork, I realised that my feelings were encapsulated by Kulick's simple statement: "For the problem is that in anthropology, other people's secrets are valuable commodities" (1995: 11-12). There is something that I personally find fundamentally distasteful about success being measured by the degree to which people 'open up' while you remain closed to them. At the same time, Sue Scott points out that there are dangers in portraying the individual as passive, vulnerable, and at risk from the researcher; and in becoming too sanitised and cautious in our approach to research (BSA summer school, 1996). 'The Victim' is part of our late 20th century cultural repertoire - the list of victims gets potentially ever larger, and we should be concerned about the possibility of adding 'victims of research' to this.

This section deals with the different issues, complex and difficult to resolve, involved in this type of research, which can be grouped under the general heading of 'ethics'.

Informed Consent

Although I have kept my promise to interviewees and not played the tapes to other people, transcripts have been seen by my supervisors - how happy would my interviewees be to think details of their lives were being kept in filing cabinets in the offices of people they did not know? The 'douce Highland ladies' who refused to be taped, but said they would speak to me: do they realise how much I retained and wrote up later? Consent in general is a tricky issue. People give consent to their idea of your project. This was a particular problem for me in a community which operates like a game of Chinese Whispers, with several hundred people all telling each other what I was doing and no-one ever asking me. Moreover, while I never lied about what I was doing, for most of the time I was not sure myself what the thesis would be like. If you are committed to inductive research and grounded theory, and you yourself cannot yet foresee how it will all pan out, how can someone consent to it? And, most basically, participant observation in this sort of situation leaves little scope for consent, informed or otherwise. The only resistance possible is to run the ethnographer out of town, or endeavour never to do or say anything you think will be grist to their mill, in their presence.

However, it should be noted that although I felt that the principle of informed consent was inevitably breached due to the nature of participant observation, the purpose of the principle is to prevent harm to the individual (Bolton, 1995). So perhaps I have not after all breached it, as I have tried at all times to keep the best interests of real Beulach people in the forefront of my mind.

Anonymity

One of the most difficult decisions was whether or not to anonymise the parish completely for the purpose of the thesis. I have noticed in the course of my reading that it is often very easy to see the real identity of a village or parish in this type of area, and the only way to anonymise the village successfully seemed to involve so many changes that I started feeling worried about blurring the boundaries between 'science' and 'fiction'. At first I thought that it would be better to come clean about the identity of the parish and make every effort to protect the confidentiality of individuals, rather than simply to call the parish by a different name and write as if no-one could tell where the people mentioned lived.

I moved from this to feeling that I had to make every effort to protect confidentiality. I feel uneasy about what can be termed 'real name dropping' by academics: proving of inside knowledge by using genuine placenames rather than the pseudonym given to the area by the researcher.

This is related in an inseparable way to the question of the audience. I now feel that there are significant tensions between a public access document (albeit one generally read by very few people) and something written specifically for a limited number of academics. The thesis has of course to be tailored to meet the requirements of doctoral study. The way to do this is certainly not necessarily what you want available for just anyone to read. For this reason, I decided that I would anonymise the parish fairly thoroughly, changing not just the names of the parish and its settlements and inhabitants, but also those of the region, nearby towns, etc. I also decided to place an embargo on the thesis for a few years. The plan is not to remove the research from the public domain, but to ensure that what goes into the public domain is written for that domain, after the thesis is accepted.

I feel uncomfortable with the fact that researchers can be aware that what they write will offend the people they lived with, and proceed regardless (e.g., Cohen 1987, Munro 1996). I do not want to be too precious about this, but I also have to be aware that things I found intellectually interesting and relevant (and at times emotionally upsetting) involve other people who just found them emotionally upsetting, and who do not feel driven by an ideal of reflexivity to display their emotional upsets in public places.

Returning to Edinburgh, and not spending time in Beulach over the last few months, has made me feel more relaxed about this issue, and more able to write. However, I do not want to lose sight (through geographical and emotional distance) of the fact that these are real people, not just fascinating subjects/objects/informants.

Exploitation and Distance: the Real People Dilemma

Gearing astutely observes that many ethnographers suffer from feelings of 'cheating' when they use personal relationships as sources of information. During her fieldwork in the West Indies in the mid-80s, she fell in love with her key informant, and at first felt very defensive about this, and that she ought to do more 'real' interviews, i.e., with strangers. She now states firmly that "successful ethnographic research is always a joint endeavour between

anthropologists and informants, one that ultimately depends upon the quality of our personal relationships" (1995: 207).

Likewise, Altork argues that emotions are part of and facilitate fieldwork, motivating informants to enter a relationship rather than feeling intruded upon by the ethnographer's questions or presence. She questions why it is that:

It's almost as if there was something not quite right about responding and writing from a reflexive stance - a personal place - unless one hastened to link an overarching cerebral tone to the affective to ensure credibility.

(1995: 111)

As Bowen reminds us, "One cannot make friends with a community. One has to make friends with individual people" (1954: 90). In my own experience, it is simply the fact that I know I got told the most, and usually the most interesting material, by those I was emotionally closest to - along a continuum. The woman I lived with then three or four of my closest friends told me most, older people who knew me were better informants than those who did not, etc. My whole methodological rationale was based on this, really: that I would get better 'results' from being in Beulach for a long period of time, settling in and becoming known. In many respects I can see that that worked, although it did make research bizarrely harder in some ways: eventually I found it very hard to have any formal kind of interview at all, for example ask someone their date of birth, or indeed even tape someone I was used to chatting with.

From my personal experience I would argue that emotional intimacy of all kinds leads to greater information/'truths' but also to greater ethical complexities and conflicts. I have spent a lot of time agonising over judgements of what to tell, the clash between friend/informant, what will make people feel betrayed, the necessary degree of confidentiality, and so on. There is a constant tension in that people you like and are closest to tell you most, and you feel worst about 'writing them up' (and there is worry about bias, too, of course: you need to get close to people before they really speak to you, but being close to some automatically makes it harder to get close to others).

I first came up against this when I met my 'neighbour' three miles to the south, in the October after I moved to Beulach. From our first meeting I was aware that he was someone

I would find good company, and that unlike most others he was not trammelled with children and work, so did have time to be friendly in. His family was also interesting sociologically and so when I got home after our first meeting I tried to 'write them up', and realised I was going to find this very difficult. Indeed, for a while after this I barely kept fieldnotes, and only managed to start doing so by reassuring myself that I could treat them as a 'computer diary' which would never be shown to anyone and could eventually be destroyed. The negative connotations of the term 'informant', mentioned by a few writers (Kulick and Willson, 1995), were definitely something I felt. My fieldnotes might have been better if I had ceased to use the term earlier. I was aware that even though many of the people I was closest to knew a lot about what I was interested in from a research point of view, they were still relating to me as a friend and not as a researcher, and would also have found it distasteful to see me writing down what they had just told me.

Due to these strong feelings about exploiting emotional relationships, the idea of 'giving something back' became particularly important. Aside from (hopefully) being a good friend to those I was friendly with, I helped out at a wide variety of local events and in voluntary organisations. I would also like to do what is in a sense the project that people wanted me to be doing: oral history for local consumption. Helping with the schools exhibition was a step towards that. This 'giving back' seems to me a partial recompense for what I still see as the fundamentally ethically dubious aspects of this type of research. The sense of betraying emotional relationships is also eased by protecting individuals (see section on anonymity, above).

It is difficult to maintain a stance of neutrality when people or local issues you care about are involved - and indeed can be inappropriate and hurtful, as friends you have made will expect you to stand by them (cf., Bowen, 1954: 118). Moreover, I have continuing ties with the area, and may do further research there. It is wrong to lose sight of the fact that these people *are* people, not subjects, and in some cases people who were/will continue to be significant others.

Memory and the Presentation of Self

According to Kohli, the renaissance of the biographical method was accompanied by high expectations that using it would get access to social life as comprehensively as possible,

from within and in its historical dimension. However, life histories are not a collection of all the events of an individual's life course, but rather "structured self-images" (1981: 65). Past events are continuously restructured within the framework of the present situation. According to Bertaux-Wiame, an account of the past is oriented by the present in two ways:

first, it reconstructs the meaning of the past from the present point of view; second and more deeply, it gives meaning to the past *in order* to give meaning to the present, to the present life of the person.

(1981: 258)

From her research into internal migration in France, Bertaux-Wiame argued that male and female accounts of their lives vary substantially and systematically. Men seldom talked spontaneously about their family life. Their social identity was often taken from their work, especially if their working life had been successful. In contrast, women talked about their relationships, and their own life stories included parts of the life stories of their significant others.

However, Crawford cautions that social science often falls into the temptation of enshrining difference. She concedes that it is a satisfying idea that male and female accounts differ, but an idea that is hard to substantiate. She cautions that "testing for group differences in the absence of clear theoretical reasons is a common way that 'difference' gets encoded in research literature" (1995: 137).

Connerton takes a more pragmatic approach than Bertaux-Wiame, pointing out that "in most cultures, the memories of men and women will vary because their education and occupations are different" (1989: 28).

In my own research, interviews with a brother and sister from the same family did reveal some discrepancies, for example:

A

Did your father work locally or did he go away?

He went away...going away for seasonal employment was the regular thing most people would do. As a young boy he went to Wick to the herring fishing, and later on, along with a lot of other people from here, he went to Glasgow, seasonally...a lot of them got work in the shipyards...working for seasons seemed to be quite an acceptable thing to employers.

When you were born, he was away in Glasgow most summers?

Winters. They had to be at home to do their spring work, which was the planting of the crops.

B

And your father was away quite a lot of the time in Glasgow?

No. He was never away, never. He only used to go once a year to see his mother who was in Glasgow.

As B says later in the interview that her father was in his early forties before he married, so he was retired by the time the youngest of his seven children were leaving school, I think what has probably happened here is that two different time periods are being spoken about. Perhaps before his marriage and when the children were very small, the father worked away, but for most of their childhood he would be fairly elderly (the youngest child being born when he was nearly 60) and no longer leaving the area for work. If I had only interviewed either A or B I would have come away with a completely different impression of what their father did while they were children.

I do not feel that in my own interviews there was evidence of direct and systematic difference by gender between accounts, although it was clear that people's actual lives had been greatly influenced by gender, amongst other factors such as family size and income. What was certainly the case though, was that accounts were more than a simple relating of facts. In this respect, I would agree with Hankiss' assessment:

The image of the self is never just a simple reflection of the experiences related to the self: it always includes a specific response to the 'why' of the development of the self. Everyone builds his or her own theory about the history and the course of his or her life by attempting to classify his or her particular successes and fortunes, gifts and choices, favourable and unfavourable elements of his or her fate according to a coherent, explanatory principle...[...]. Human memory selects, emphasizes, rearranges and gives new colour to everything that happened in reality; and, more important, it endows certain fundamental episodes with a symbolic meaning, often to the point of turning them almost into myths, by locating them at a focal point of the explanatory system of the self.

(1981: 203)

Living in Beulach for a considerable period of time and thus hearing other people's opinions about my interviewees and their lives; and seeing my interviewees in other contexts, gave me valuable insights into the construction of life narratives and presentation of selves. It was seldom, if ever, the case that I felt or found out that I had been directly lied to. Much more significant were omissions and evasions that left a cosier, smoother and more palatable life account to be set out for me. These omissions could be huge - I had interviewees who side-stepped discussion of illegitimacy, marital breakdown and alcoholism - or seemingly trivial. An example of the latter was the interviewee who told me that his daughter had left Bailemór to go to university, leaving me with the impression that she had a degree. I later discovered that she had upset and disappointed her parents, and caused general Bailemór *schadenfreude*, by 'dropping out' at a time when this was unheard of.

On the whole, I found I agreed with the judgement of the Personal Narratives Group: "When talking about their lives, people lie sometimes, forget a lot, exaggerate, become confused, and get things wrong. Yet they *are* revealing truths" (Riessman, 1993: 22). In the short time in which we interview someone, it is inevitable that we can only hear or coax a small part of their lives, which can be tantalising and frustrating. As Plummer says:

somewhere behind all this story telling there are real, active, embodied, impassioned lives. Is this a process of peeling back stories to reveal better and better ones? And if so, when do we know a story is better? Or is it a process of constant readjustment of stories to be aligned with the time and the place of their telling?...multiple stories engulf us, and we need tools for distinguishing between layers of stories or even layers of truth.

(1995: 170)

Narrative analysis is an area which fascinates me which unfortunately cannot be dealt with within the constraints of this thesis. As Riessman says, narratives are used by people to knit several themes into long accounts with coherence and sequence: "respondents in interviews impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives" (1993: 2). My interviews were carried out in an area that has long placed high value on story-telling, and several of my interviewees constructed poetically articulate narratives of explanation for me (as will be seen in Chapter Five in particular).

Connerton (1989) argues that the concept of 'a life history' is a chronological narrative which forces a type of shape, and with that a pattern of remembering, that is alien to the material. If oral historians listen carefully to what their informants have to say, he believes they would discover a perception of time that is not linear but cyclical (days, weeks, months, seasons, years, generations). If I were to conduct my research over again, I would attempt a different form of data collection, perhaps revolving around repeated visits dealing with different themes, rather than a preoccupation with biographical facts in the first instance.

Memory operates in a collective as well as an individual or family setting. This will be seen in later chapters on gossip, the township of Ardbeith, and the oral history of migration. According to Schweizer:

This memory of a village community where everybody lived under the same conditions and shared their values and their style of life may be a retrospective idealization, but it is present in the mind of all villagers, shaping their understandings of themselves and the identity of their village.

(1988: 73)

Memory is also significant in terms of the data collector: my priorities; my accuracy and my recall have all played a part. I have my own self-justificatory stories and partial truths to tell.

Locating Myself: Having Left the Field

It is easy, whilst in the field and alone, to feel terrible about falling short of an internalised model of perfect praxis. When I returned to Edinburgh and heard my peer group all bewailing inadequacies in their data collection, I realised that we had all lost sight of the Ph.D. as part of our professional development - a learning process in which it would be quite strange if all interviews from start to finish were 'perfect' (which, of course, they never could be anyway, however experienced the researcher).

It has been interesting living through and observing the changes in myself since returning to university and to Edinburgh. Initially, I missed Beulach a great deal, could not imagine months passing without return visits, and plotted my own 'downshifting'. I resented having to 'analyse my data' and 'write up my thesis', removed from the realities of life in Beulach.

At the same time, it was a relief to be back, and comforting to be reabsorbed into a cohort of postgraduate students and academic life in general. At first I found it very difficult to turn people I knew into 'case studies', but with geographical distance and increasing emotional space, it has come to seem easier and normal. Every time I re-draft my methods section the language becomes calmer. Once I had successfully applied for a research post, my focus and perspective shifted again: the Ph.D. was not all-encompassing, but rather a short stage in my life which was nearly over.

The idea of doing future research in Beulach - for example, on issues surrounding the illegal fishing widespread in the European fleet - is still very tempting and a realistic future prospect. However, so is the idea of being able to return to Beulach 'off-duty', and see only the people I want to see, and not care about my 'role' and what I ought to be doing or saying.

Data Analysis and Writing Up

These are often dealt with in two separate sections, as I did myself in an earlier draft before deciding it was too artificial, as for me they are contemporaneous and inseparable processes. I have had no sense of a discrete period of analysis and at first felt quite panic-stricken about this, as so many of my peer group seemed to be moving through stages of collection→analysis→writing up. I examined various qualitative data analysis software packages (e.g., Ethnograph, Hyper-research). They did not seem suited to my particular needs for the sort of data I had. In the end, I chose to use ZyIndex, as a sophisticated searching tool, but in practice I have not used it often. I have a good memory and did not have too vast and unmanageable a quantity of data, so I found that having read it through periodically means I can find what I want fairly quickly in my fieldnotes. For the oral history accounts of migration, I cut and pasted interviews thematically and then reinstated some whole-case vignettes in order not to fragment the evidence unduly.

The paucity of guidance about and lack of time given to the analysis of qualitative data has been noted by Mauthner and Doucet (1997). While I agree broadly with their arguments, this issue was not as problematic as I had feared. This is because I have been thinking about the data for so long and so exclusively. I realised when I started writing, how much 'analysis' I had already done whilst hill-walking and speaking to friends over cups of tea in

Beulach. I had the luxury of a large tract of time when the research was virtually all I had to worry about.

Nevertheless, thinking back over my Ph.D., I received far more pre-fieldwork training about designing my research, entering the field, and collecting my data. What to do with it thereafter - even simply how to transcribe - was not discussed. This, combined with increasing time pressures on Ph.D. completion, must also shape findings. How much more might I do with my data given another year to dissect and discuss it?

The actual writing of research, of course, is a whole area of reflexivity in itself that has received ever-increasing attention in recent years. The processes whereby the "messy, partially understood, sometimes traumatic private memories are transformed into an 'objective' constructed image that will live immortal in the public realm of academe" (Willson, 1995: 256) have come under the scrutiny of many ethnographers (e.g.: Atkinson, 1990; Aldridge, 1993; Geertz, 1973, 1988; Hammersley, 1992; Cohen, 1987; Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Okely and Callaway, 1992). Again, there is not space to discuss the issues in detail and it will have to suffice to say that while writing I have been conscious that "what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to" (Geertz, 1973: 9). I have been aware in descriptive passages that this is a device whereby the writer persuades of authenticity. I have taken into consideration the arguments about the ethics of writing and publishing, particularly given my wish to have an ongoing connection with the people of Beulach (e.g., Mascarenhas-Keyes, 1987; Homan, 1991). The tense in which I write has changed with every redraft and geographical move, but I have tried to avoid sounding as if my data on Beulach is timeless and eternal (cf., Wight, 1993). I can only assume that the social scientist reader will be at least as sophisticated as this writer, and will not need the construction of my text pointed out in greater detail than this. Certainly, my own experience has been that:

Finding somewhere to stand in a text that is supposed to be at one and the same time an intimate view and a cool assessment is almost as much of a challenge as gaining the view and making the assessment in the first place.

(Geertz, 1988: 10)

Conclusion

By providing this chapter, and in what I have discussed above, I have attempted not to be *too* partial, evasive and self-justificatory. Ruth Wilkins, in her discussion of the benefits of 'taking it personally' wrote "It is hard to believe now, much less to convey, how anxious I felt as I conducted my research" (1993: 95). In my own case, I worried terribly for the entire duration of my fieldwork about methodological issues and whether I was 'doing it right'. However, I can quite calmly say now that I made mistakes, I had problems, and I would do certain things differently if I were to start the research over again. Although this is a lengthy chapter, I feel some methodological aspects have only been touched upon. Nevertheless, there should still be a sufficient basis for the reader to locate me in the research, understand where the data comes from, and get a sense of how my findings might be affected by my decisions and my self - and whether they are nevertheless valid.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Parish of Beulach

FIGURE 1: MAP OF BEULACH

- == road
- single track road
- crofting township
- mountain



Introduction

This chapter depicts the setting in which the research was carried out, to give the reader perhaps unfamiliar with the physical, social and economic characteristics of such an area the knowledge necessary to place subsequent analysis in context. In addition to providing this background, the chapter will also introduce a number of key themes and issues without going into any great depth at this stage.

The chapter will first briefly set Beulach in its historical context, which leads on to a demographic profile of the area showing population shifts over time, and the age and sex structure of the population and birthplace of current residents. The economic, social and religious life of the community is also discussed.

Neglect of the importance or even existence of state, political, and national level authority and influence has been a criticised aspect of ethnographies and other portrayals of life in remote areas (Knight, 1994; Jackson, 1987; Wills, 1978). For this reason, I attempt to show clearly here the ways in which Beulach is very much a part of the wider world - from schooling and social work to E.U. money and fishing legislation. The chapter will conclude with a section highlighting significant themes, and drawing the reader's attention to which parts of the thesis deal with them more thoroughly.

A schematic map of the parish of Beulach, showing the location of Bailemór and other townships that will be mentioned in the course of the thesis, plus significant topographical features, is shown at the start of the chapter. I have taken the parish as my unit of analysis for simplicity of reference, as has been done by other researchers (Macdonald, mimeo; Brody, 1973). Most of my data are in fact drawn from the village of Bailemór and surrounding townships in the coastal area. I also interviewed people from the inland townships and those in the far north of the parish, but spent far less time in those areas and would not claim to know them well. The townships in the far north and inland have less contact with Bailemór than with Ardrhu, a much larger village an hour's drive to the south.

The parish of Beulach is in the north west of Scotland. It is over 100,000 acres in area, covering roughly twenty miles square. The climate is poor, the economy fragile and population density is low. The old civil parish boundaries follow topographical lines. The western boundary is the sea coast, fifteen miles from north to south as the crow flies, but in reality a coast line so jagged that following every inlet and promontory would give you a coastal march of over a hundred miles. The southern boundary of the parish turns inland round the townships of Ardbeith and Fearn, following the course of the River Beith east. The northern boundary also follows water inland, this time a long arm of the sea reaching far into the hinterland. The eastern boundary approximates to a line of mountains which attract many visitors to the area.

To the city dweller, Beulach seems a silent land of water, hills and empty skies. It is flow country, moorland where trees are few and small. There are few roads traversing it, and even in the summer it is possible to leave one of these roads and walk for hours without seeing another human being. This is in dramatic contrast to the impossibility of avoiding being seen on-road, if you are a known person rather than a visitor. Most of the parish roads are single track and some of these reach dead ends at small clusters of houses by the sea. There is only one double track B road leading into the parish from the south, cutting through the inland townships then turning west to end in the village of Bailemór. So, as Ardener has said of remote areas in general, "The world always beckons...for it leads from your very door to everywhere. It is quite different in this respect from a city street. The road to Cathay does not flow from no. 7 Bloomsbury Mansions" (1987: 46).

Water in a myriad of forms figures prominently in the parish: lochs; burns; rivers; tarns; bogs; the sea; and of course, rainfall. This is more crucial than at first it might seem to an understanding of the social, economic and demographic characteristics of the area. As the minister noted in 1793, "The rain continues not only for hours, but often for days; nay for weeks, especially if the wind perseveres for so long a time to blow from the west". An unpredictable climate holds in its thrall the principal industries - fishing, crofting and tourism.

The main village of Bailemór stretches for two miles round a bay which has probably been used as a harbour by visiting fishing boats for centuries. Few records survive, but herring were certainly being caught there in the 17th century. The original fishing station, built in

the later years of the 18th century for curing and smoking herring, has grown and developed in stages, with a recent E.U. and Highland Council funded leap, involving blasting of the coast and reclamation from the sea. This has provided the largest flat site of hard ground for miles around.

Properly speaking, the real Bailemór is not either of the arms of the bay, but the single street of buildings curving along the mile of shoreline between the pier and the mouth of the River Beulach at the north. However, most people refer to the whole area as 'Bailemór'. On one side of the bay are the breakwater, pier and associated buildings (including fish markets, agents' offices, ice plant, chandlers, hotel and Fishermen's Mission). Earlier this century, the other side of the bay was an area of crofting land known as Ardglas, with occasional big stone houses and cottages. It is now the most densely settled area in the parish. Over sixty council houses were built there since the 1960s in a number of stages, and most recently, in the mid-80s, sheltered housing and a day centre for the elderly people of the parish. Ardglas also has a grocery stores, and one of the most successful and significant businesses of the area, which produces designer Scottish knitwear for the domestic and international markets. It was established over twenty years ago and provides much-needed regular employment for a workforce of about 25 people.

As Nadel points out, "Villages are often discussed as if they were natural organisms, ancient as the very hills" (1984: 103). People like to think of quaint coastal Highland villages rooted in tradition, and even my interviewees often told me little had changed in the village over their lifetime, ignoring massive pier developments, a mini-council estate and several new buildings. In fact, Bailemór has been a dynamic and changing place, as will be seen more clearly throughout this chapter.

The role of Bailemór as official service centre is emphasised by the institutional nature of most of the older (19th and early 20th century) buildings: three churches; a school; doctors' surgery; village hall; estate offices and factor's house; manses; shops; hotel. More recently, there is the tourist centre, and above the village, looking over it to the sea and inland to the mountains and deer forests, are the newer hotel and lodges belonging to the current estate owners.

This family also own the grocery stores and petrol pumps in the Main Street of Bailemór, and a few other cottages used for hotel and lodge staff. Main Street also has a post office, newsagent, bank; and a handful of tourism related businesses (a bistro, craft shops); a charity shop, and a small butcher-cum-grocer shop. There is a Chandler which supplies boats, but also general requirements: work clothes, tools, paint, lightbulbs, boots, etc. The parish is also visited by vans from the east coast selling fruit and vegetables, and has a locally based fish and chip van. There is a playing field used by the village football team and for the annual Highland Games. Children play in the field and the adjacent swing park. There is a mobile library which tours the whole parish, and a library one evening a week in the Bailemór village hall. On the main road out of the village is a haulage business and a small industrial estate where units can be rented from Highland Council. There are three garages and a marine engineering firm, all small businesses. Other individuals work as decorator, plumber, electrician, joiner and hairdresser, but people often go outside the parish for these services.

Bailemór is still a 'service centre' for the village inhabitants and those living up to six miles south and fifteen north on the single track. There is another petrol station inland at Feadan Hotel. Although Bailemór is nearer, those inland often prefer to travel slightly further in the opposite direction along the B road to the better facilities of Ardrhu, especially since, like virtually all areas of the Highlands and Islands, for major shopping, specialist items or services, it is necessary anyway to travel south and east to Inverness. Most adult residents own or have access to private cars, and public transport is limited to the post bus, and the weekly 'shopping bus' which goes to Inverness early in the morning and returns to Bailemór late in the evening.

*Historical Background*¹

Despite its at times inhospitable appearance and climate, Beulach has had human inhabitants for thousands of years. The experience of the parish is in line with most areas of the Highlands and Islands.

¹ for much of this information, I am indebted to a local history booklet, which unfortunately must be left out of the bibliography in order to preserve anonymity.

From the Middle Ages, Beulach was under the control of successive clan leaders from the Outer Hebrides, followed by aristocracy from the mainland. During the eighteenth century, the parish interior became dominated by tacksmen, with huge cattle grazings. The smaller tenants on the coast increased in number with the introduction of the potato and the success of the herring fishing.

From the early 19th century, the landowners began a development programme which involved clearing people to the coast to make way for inland sheep farms. Over 160 families were evicted from 1821 to 1860. As elsewhere in the Highlands and Islands, the Clearances are still an emotive subject, loaded with symbolism and imagery that is activated with every change in land ownership and use. They also shaped the parish in physical and spiritual ways, linked as they were with the upsurge in evangelical Presbyterianism; changes in population settlement and migration; and effects on land use and environmental degradation.

The increasing dependence of the coastal tenants on the potato meant that when the crop failed in the late 1840s, there was severe deprivation, and people began to emigrate in larger numbers. The landowners assisted this, and reorganised the runrig agriculture into crofts.

The slated houses now thought of as typical croft houses (sometimes known as 'white houses' as opposed to the old, low, thatched 'black houses') began to be built with economic recovery in the 1860s and '70s. From the 1880s, the landowners shifted the emphasis from sheep production to deer forests. Also in the 1880s, crofting unrest which swept the Highlands and Islands resulted in large areas of Beulach becoming common grazings for the crofters.

Bailemór was a planned village founded by the landowners in 1812, after the factor of their huge estates had visited the location and concluded that it was suitable for such a purpose and "in short, Bailemór should be the *Metropolis* of Beulach". Some people were settled there, but the village was not as successful as anticipated: manufacturing never took off, although after a slow start, Bailemór did become a centre for merchants and tradesmen. Although it never did fill with grand Victorian villas as had originally been envisaged, the estate did feu out plots for building from the 1880s, and some substantial houses were built.

Demographic Profile

This beautiful, if sometimes bleak and harsh, landscape now contains less than 1000 people, around half of whom are concentrated in the coastal village of Bailemór. A list of inhabitants made in the 1770s records 1,718 residents in the parish, a total which climbed to a high point of 3,178 in 1861. After 1861, the story is one of population decline until the last 30 years, when the population seems to have stabilised and begun to creep gradually upwards. This is particularly interesting in that forty years ago, not much hope was held out for the parish. The famous ecologist and writer Frank Fraser Darling described it as "disintegrating" in the 1940s (McKay, 1995), and the minister wrote in 1954 that the parish was facing "so alarming a situation that if the decline continues at its present rate, zero hour will have been reached in about thirty years' time, if not indeed sooner, with the departure of the last few key men". Yet this has clearly not happened.

As discussed in Chapter Three, compiling a demographic profile of Beulach has been fraught with data inconsistencies.

Much has been made of demographic imbalance in the Highlands and Islands, the picture being painted one of decaying townships consisting of holiday homes and a dwindling number of elderly locals living alone. While this is clearly the case in some of the outlying Beulach townships especially, as a whole the parish exhibits a healthy demographic profile.

The general perception now is of boom in the last five to ten years, although most have no idea of the actual population figures (and indeed, several have asked me for them). This is allied to comments about 'revival' and 'community spirit', citing activities and organisations such as the ceilidh band, the playgroup, quiz nights and so on.

My assessment of the parish population was that there were about a thousand people living there, and that there had been growth since the early 1990s, which of course would not be recorded in the 1991 Census Small Area Statistics (CSAS).

According to the doctors' surgery (1997), there are 976 people in Beulach. Obviously, surgery lists are subject to irregularities: many are far from up-to-date, e.g., retain people who have moved away or died. I would assess the accuracy of the Beulach register to be relatively high as it is computerised and the staff know their population well. However, it will not encompass the most transient people, nor those who seldom visit the doctor and have left the parish and not yet registered elsewhere.

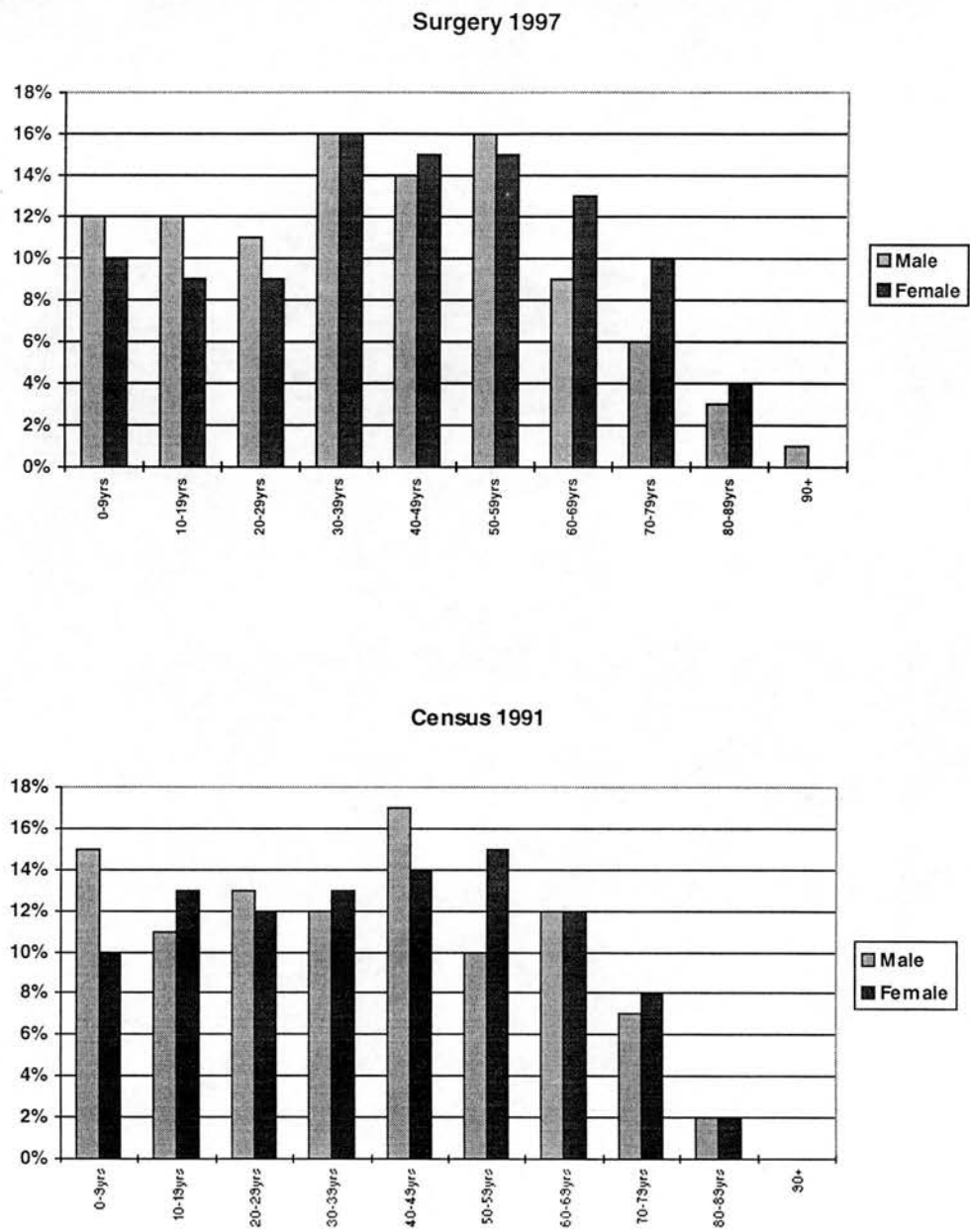
The electoral roll records 789 voters registered in Beulach. Adding the just under 200 registered with different educational groups (from playgroup to secondary school) again gives a figure just under a thousand.

It is frustrating to have lost the parish of Beulach as a unit of analysis in the Census, as it makes it difficult to construct a profile of demographic trends, especially in terms of the crucial renaissance debate. Although there were close to a thousand people in the Beulach enumeration district, the closest match of CSAS (from the aggregation of eight output areas) yields a total population of 831.

However, by converting the age and sex structures of data from the Census and the surgery data into percentages, it can be seen that the resulting profiles are similar enough not to worry unduly about CSAS systematically under-representing any groups. From these graphs, it can be seen that Beulach does indeed exhibit a healthy demographic profile, which is not heavily skewed towards the elderly.

CSAS data for 1991 at the postcode sector level (which covers the large and sparsely populated northern and western Highlands) show a population of 3,746 in 1971; 3,471 in 1981; and 3,816 in 1991. However, the 1971 figure also includes visitors, while 1981 is only residents present at the time of enumeration; and 1991 is both present residents and wholly absent households normally resident.

FIGURE 2: BEULACH POPULATION GRAPHS



While lack of direct comparability is frustrating, these would seem to indicate fairly stable population numbers. What is interesting at this postcode sector level is that (despite inclusion of visitors in 1971 totals), English-born people increase quite dramatically over the three decades:

TABLE 1: BIRTHPLACE OF RESIDENTS			
Year	% born in Scotland	% born in England	% born elsewhere
1971	88	2	10
1981	85	12	3
1991	80	17	3

In Beulach itself, English-born residents make up a slightly higher proportion of the 1991 population. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

Local Health and Social Services

There are two full-time male doctors resident in the parish, and a female doctor visits on a regular basis. During the 1990s there have been considerable developments in the health service: surgery improvements in Bailemór; major improvements of the ambulance service, physiotherapy and psychiatric care at the regional level; and an optician and chiropodist visit Bailemór regularly. There are, of course, restrictions in access to services: for example, the dentist comes from Wick for only one day every fortnight to see patients in the Bailemór surgery. However, the point is often made that there is a lot to be said for some professionals coming from outwith the area - e.g., community psychiatric nurses and alcohol counsellors - as anonymity is so difficult in such a small community.

It is noticeable that there are close links in Beulach between caring professions, i.e., the health service, social work and churches. There are monthly meetings between social workers, doctors and nurses to liaise over home care, meals on wheels, medication, etc. The doctors see themselves as part of a multidisciplinary caring unit, an approach which has developed over the last ten years. They announced in a community care meeting that a lot of general practice has little to do with medicine, and said this is increasingly the case as the traditional role of the clergy has eroded over recent years in the parish.

An assessment carried out for this 'caring unit' in the autumn of 1995 identified 112 people in Beulach as having community care needs. The largest single category was alcoholism, with 37 men officially designated alcoholics. However, doctors perceive and portray this figure as very much the tip of a far larger iceberg. One estimated at a public meeting that about a third of families in the area have some link with drink problems, and noted the consequences of this for family life: it was said that the social worker's call-out rate was acutely related to drinking. Neurotic illness was also identified as a problem (unsurprisingly given the stressful and precarious employment situation of many in the parish, i.e., dependence on the vagaries of fishing, crofting and tourism).

The Beulach Centre, a day centre for the elderly and disabled which also provides residential care, opened in the mid-80s with a 'catchment area' of Beulach and the parish to the immediate north. Employed at the Centre are a social work manager, administrator, two part-time senior care officers (one of whom has another part-time role as care manager, assessing residential care needs), one full-time care officer, social work students on placements, a part-time cook, part-time driver for the mini-bus and part-time cleaner. There are about 26 people employed as peripatetic home carers for the two parishes, working a wide range of hours. All of the staff apart from the manager are female. There is also a part-time social worker in Bailemór for children and families, including responsibility for adoption/fostering.

The Centre is a joint venture between Highland Council's social work department (which runs and staffs it) and a Housing Association (which built it and pays some maintenance costs) originally linked to the Church of Scotland but now a general association although many of the committee still have church links. Due to the remoteness of the area and the scattered population, care services have always been very much based in Inverness or on the east coast. The idea behind the Beulach Centre was to have a day centre with respite care and extra care sheltered housing whereby people could remain in their own communities as long as possible. In addition to providing home helps and an emergency alarm service for nearly fifty elderly people living alone, the Centre has twelve extra care bungalows and three respite rooms in the centre itself.

Education

There has been a school in the parish, in one form or another, almost continuously since the SSPCK (Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge) opened its first Beulach school in the early years of the 18th century. The SSPCK schools functioned throughout the 19th century, until taken over by Beulach School Board following the 1872 Education Act. There were also Gaelic Society Schools in the early 19th century, and Free Church schools after the 1843 Disruption. From the late 1820s, there was a Church of Scotland school in Bailemór. The 1872 Act led to the setting up of four schools in Beulach in 1879. There were also numerous 'side-schools' for children in particularly remote locations. In the 19th century, these usually involved a pupil-teacher living with a shepherd's or gamekeeper's family and teaching the children. After the 1919 Education Act, which handed over financing to local authorities, this became more formally organised. Beulach had side-schools in nine townships. Three of these were quite large, but most were created on a short term basis as the need arose. The last side-school ran during the Second World War, for a keeper's family in inland Beulach.

The early schools were quite clearly provided with the intention of being a civilising influence over Highlanders, teaching them English and allegiance to the state and to Presbyterianism. As the Beulach History Society remark:

the objectives of the early 'educationalists' have largely been achieved in that education is now universal, and is, to a large extent, something we all take for granted. Equally their aim to rid the local population of their native language has also been realised - Gaelic is no longer the day to day language of the community, and no child in Beulach is able to speak Gaelic fluently.

Currently, Bailemór Primary is the largest school in Beulach, with 65 pupils. There is also a primary school for the inland townships, and one in the north of the parish. Both of these are small (six and eleven pupils respectively) and one still further north closed in 1996 as the school roll was down to two pupils.

Until fairly recently, secondary school age pupils travelled to schools on the east coast, earlier this century boarding all term there, and for the last few decades spending weeks in east coast hostels and weekends in Beulach. Older informants who lived in lodgings seemed quite accepting of a system that meant they basically left home at the age of twelve;

but the hostel system seems to have been universally hated by younger people, who often speak of bullying and hostility to 'west coasters'. The village of Ardrhu on the west coast upgraded its secondary school in the 1980s, and recently Beulach pupils were given the option of daily travel (a two hour round trip) to this school. All secondary age pupils (around 70 in total) are currently doing this, despite the lengthy day it entails.

For pre-school children, there is a playgroup run by local young mothers. In 1996 there were about 14 children in the two groups of 3-5 year olds, and at least 17 in the Mothers and Toddlers group, which is more of a social meeting catering for mothers with very small children. The playgroup estimate that they have around 30 families on their register who attend sometimes, and there are a dozen or so families living within easy travelling distance who do not attend, generally as they only have one small baby.

Housing and Land Ownership

The north-west has historically been a playground for the very rich, inhabited year-round by the very poor. Two of Britain's richest families still own substantial tracts of land in the area, visiting them on and off to shoot and fish. In Beulach itself, there are four families thought of as estate owners (one of which is technically outside the parish boundary, but the family has played a part in village life since the 1960s). The biggest is the Beulach Estate, owned by the same family since the 1930s. Its boundaries have not remained constant: it has shifted over time from the coastal area to the inland hill and deer forests. There are two smaller inland estates with fishing and shooting rights, the owners of which are seldom seen in Bailemór. There is also a Trust which owns much of coastal north Beulach.

Housing is dealt with in greater depth in Chapter Six. About a quarter of Beulach housing stock is holiday accommodation or second homes. There are 66 council houses in Bailemór (25 sold to their owners and 7 sales pending); thirty housing association dwellings (including 12 in the sheltered housing scheme) and twelve council houses in the north of Beulach. According to 1991 Census data, of dwellings with residents ($n = 335$), 43% are owned outright; 24% are being bought; 9% are privately rented; 14% are rented with a job or business; and 10% are rented from the council or housing associations.

Most of the population of Beulach live along the coastal area, in townships scattered along the roads, and occasional houses standing on their own. The population shifts geographically as well as numerically. While walking through areas away from the roads, it is quite common to come on *larachs* (remains of old buildings) sinking in to the heather - lone cottages and small communities in the hills long fallen into disuse. (cf., the 'out-bye' cottages of Westrigg: Littlejohn, 1963). The patterns of settlement have shifted from inland towards the coast, from dispersed hamlets to agglomeration around Bailemór. There are very few houses still inhabited which are reached only by tracks, and many of these are holiday homes, or occupied year-round by 'good lifer' incomers.

Employment

The people of Beulach are quintessential *bricoleurs*: defined by Delamont as that "untranslatable French word which means doing a bit of this, a bit of that, and surviving" (1995: 90).

It has always been the case that year-round permanent full-time occupations are extremely thin on the ground. The restructuring of capitalism into what Harvey terms 'flexible accumulation' (1990) is just bringing the rest of the world into line with remote areas of the Highlands and Islands such as Beulach. It is common for households to get by on combinations of various jobs, none sufficient on their own for survival. Much work is short-term, insecure, and part of the informal economy. Good regular employment is particularly hard to come by for women, apart from the knitwear factory, which plays a crucial role in enabling many families to earn a living. Many women are involved somehow with tourism, which is basically seasonal employment such as shop, hotel, café and bar work, or providing Bed and Breakfast accommodation. There is some office work with shipping agents, the fisheries protection agency, and the harbour office.

In the past, a job for the estate, on the roads, or working as a postman were about the only cash incomes around. Nowadays, as has been seen above, there are many small businesses. There has also been a growth in professional jobs such as teaching, social work, and the health service. In recent years, Beulach seems to have risen above the population threshold that makes for a viable community (as discussed in Chapter Two's review of the literature). For example, when a critical mass of elderly people and children are present in the area, this

creates employment opportunities for those of working age (teachers, care staff, etc.) which further supports other local businesses.

Jedrej and Nuttall have noted that the experience of remoteness and fragility is phenomenologically complex (1995: 124). Without doubt, Beulach and adjacent parishes lie in an area thought of by outsiders and residents alike in this way. J. F. Stuart, discussing employment in the region in the early 1990s, said that:

The withdrawal of one child from a school, for example, could result in the loss of a teacher's job, or even the closure of the school, with the consequent risk of the collapse of other services as the population falls.

(1993: 14)

However, not many people are officially unemployed. Currently (June 1997), there are only 522 people signing on under the aegis of Thurso (i.e., the whole north and west Highlands). The Employment Service provided monthly figures for Bailemór and the Beulach townships containing unemployed claimants for 1996 and 1997, as I was interested in seasonal changes. From May 1996 to May 1997, the average number of men signing on was 33, and that of women was 13. The figures for male claimants are in fact quite steady all year round, dropping slightly in the summer months. However, female unemployed claimants double in winter (from November to April). This reflects high levels of female employment in tourism, e.g., restaurant and café staff. Men who sign on all year round are generally viewed locally as 'wasters', and often have a history of alcohol or mental health problems.

From my fieldwork, I had assessed that a high proportion of women in Beulach with young children are largely economically inactive. 1991 CSAS data about women in couples with children shows that 74% of women with children aged 0-4 ($n = 38$) were economically inactive. Of the remainder, two worked part-time, and eight classed themselves as self-employed.

If mothers of children aged 0-15 ($n = 117$) are looked at, only 46% are economically inactive. However, only 7% were full-time employees. Part-time employees made up 27% of the total, and 20% classed themselves as self-employed (and I would estimate a large number of these would be running Bed and Breakfasts). Of women in couples who had no children aged 0-15 ($n = 129$), 47% were economically inactive, 22% were full-time

employees and 16% part-time, 12% were self-employed, and 3% classed themselves as 'other economically active'.

In other words, nearly half of all Beulach women in couples are self-classified as economically inactive.

Chapman (1996) notes that low economic activity rates, and unemployment or under-employment for the well-qualified, are common among rural women.

The following table is taken from the 1991 Census Small Area Statistics table SO8: 'Economic position of residents aged 16 and over'.

TABLE 2: ECONOMIC POSITION OF BEULACH RESIDENTS		
Economic position	Men	Women
Total economically active	248	161
Full-time employees	125	64
Part-time employees	12	51
Self-employed with employees	22	7
Self-employed without employees	60	26
On Government scheme	1	0
Unemployed	28	13
Total economically inactive	86	174
Students	1	11
Permanently sick	16	6
Retired	63	66
Other inactive	6	91
Total	334	335

By converting these figures to percentages, Beulach can be compared with the Scottish average. In fact, overall economic activity rates are virtually identical, for men and women. This is also true of unemployment rates. It is in the breakdown of figures that different patterns are evident. 40% of women over the age of 16 are employed full-time in Beulach, compared with 58% Scotland-wide. Of economically inactive women, in Beulach 53% are classified as 'other inactive' (i.e., not sick, retired or students) compared with the Scottish figure of 44%. The most notable difference between the figures for Beulach and for Scotland is related to self-employment. 33% of Beulach men and 20% of Beulach women

classify themselves as self-employed, as against 14% of Scottish men and 5% of Scottish women.

People turn their hands to many and varied occupations, but I will go on to look at the most significant: dealt with here under separate subheadings, but in many people's lives, combined for economic survival.

Crofting

The crofting system has been touched upon in Chapter Two. Detailed accounts of it can easily be found elsewhere (Hunter 1976, 1991; Gold and Gold 1991; Macmillan 1996). It is sufficient to say here that not all land is croft land and not all people are crofters. This is one of the first notions I was disabused of when I became a Beulach resident. I had thought of it as a crofting area, but discovered once there that many inhabitants talk of crofters as of a class apart. Bailemór has always been more 'cosmopolitan', a non-crofting service/fishing area.

As can be seen from the map at the start of the chapter, Beulach has a few small inland townships, where crofts were created in the early 19th century for 58 tenants, many cleared from nearby areas. These are among the very few inland crofting townships of the north Highlands. As elsewhere, most crofting land is concentrated in the coastal strip, and largely on the bleak and treeless northern peninsula of the parish. According to Crofters Commission data, in 1994 there were 268 crofts in Beulach, and an estimated 511 people (i.e., around half the population) were members of households with croft tenancies.

Crofting from its very inception was designed to be an occupation combined with others. Very few in the parish could be described as full-time active crofters: the two men that spring to mind have tenancies of several crofts and female partners in paid employment. Other active crofters supplement their income by unloading fish from the big European boats; running caravan sites; lobster fishing, etc. As Duncan MacDonald wrote:

Crofting is the kind of activity which is many things to many people and one thing all have in common is a requirement for a complexity of skills to make crofting work, whatever you are doing with it. Such is the diversity of activities carried out under the banner of crofting that it would be hard to compare two crofts, even in the same community. In fact, the activities are so

diverse that it would be easier to relate running your croft to that of a small business. No two enterprises are alike.

(The Crofter, April 1997)

By 'active crofter' I mean someone who at least keeps hill sheep on the land. This is by far the most common practice and also tends to be associated with 'real crofters' and 'localness'. Crofting has an emotional and symbolic significance virtually unrelated to economics (cf., Parman, 1990: 17; Cohen, 1987: 100). Only one woman in Beulach grows her own hay. She is a German married to a Scot, both incomers of long residence in the parish. Some others also grow vegetables and keep other livestock. Having a polytunnel (for vegetables), hens and goats has been mockingly described to me as 'the blueprint for incomers'.

Fishing

The sea has been a source of sustenance and employment in varying ways and to varying degrees since people first inhabited the area.

Bailemór has always been a sheltered harbour, visited by the herring shoals on seasonal migration down the Scottish coast, and a centre for salmon fishings on three nearby rivers. The salmon fishing rights belonged (as they still do) to the landowners, and made a significant contribution to estate income.

The herring were irregular visitors but lucrative. As mentioned earlier, a station for smoking and curing them was built in the 1770s and it employed 80-100 people in the on-shore processing, in addition to 47 boats each with a crew of five.

The business was sold on to a merchant from Stornoway, and was later bought by a man from Skye, who moved to Bailemór and also leased several coastal farms from 1802. The subtenants were bound to fish and manufacture kelp for him. By the mid-19th century, increasing financial difficulties led to the sale of the business to the landed proprietors of Beulach.

Herring fishing on a huge scale was more or less over by the First World War: my own interviewees said they do not remember anyone 'following the fishing' round the coast at that time.

When the current estate proprietors arrived in the 1930s, the only industry in the area was the in-shore fishing, white fish landing in Bailemór and herring mainly in Ardrhu. Some did land in Bailemór: one of my interviewees, who left school in the early 1940s, worked for a while sousing and salting herring and loading it onto lorries in Bailemór.

The fishing industry took off in its present form after the Second World War, but is constantly changing and developing in different ways. When two of my interviewees were first fishing in the late 1940s, they sent their catch south on a local lorry or even on the mailbus if they had not caught much. In 1948, Hamish Gunn, a man from Caithness who had moved to Bailemór, started the Bailemór Fish Selling Company with a locally-born man. They became selling agents for boats landing fish at Bailemór. For a while they had some competition from a couple of other very small one-man firms, but these petered out.

The Bailemór Fish Selling Company was expanded by Hamish Gunn's son, Donald. He had got his HGV license while in the army, and when he returned to Bailemór, he bought lorries so that he and another local man could transport the fish themselves. Originally, they were taken to the Glasgow market, but as fish-processing increasingly concentrated in the north-east, they transported Bailemór catches to Aberdeen. The fishing boom really was underway in the 1960s, but there was no covered market on the pier until the 1970s.

Salvesens bought a controlling share in the Bailemór Fish Selling company in the mid-70s, and then Denholms bought it over in the mid-80s. For the last ten years the Bailemór office has been managed by Donald Gunn's eldest son. The Fish Selling Company employs ten full-time and five part-time office staff, and eleven full-time staff in the associated chandlery.

Denholms also has shares in about a dozen of the boats. Earlier, the Bailemór Fish Selling Company had far more boats, but they were smaller and their catching capacity was far lower. Now, though few in number, they are hugely powerful. The Company also has shares in a couple of prawn boats, but this side of the business is much smaller than it used to be. It also owns the ice plant on the pier, which supplies boats with ice for packing fish.

Bailemór Fish Selling Company sold over ten million pounds' worth of fish in 1996. Some of this is unofficial and not in the port sales record. Illegal landings, known locally and throughout Scotland's fishing ports as 'black fishing', are commonplace. I was told that fish

industry figures are 'fictional', and that while not as much as half of total landings are illegal, it is a substantial amount. The Fishery Officers themselves are happy to give out official port sales, but do not like to be drawn on estimates of the worth of black landings. They said it is hard to quantify but not as severe a problem on the west coast as at big ports like Peterhead.

Official port sales reveal some patterns of change in the industry. The beginning of the 1990s saw the start of Bailemór being used as a harbour for large French and then Spanish owned boats. The fall in UK sales at the beginning of the '90s is due to the decommissioning of much of the Scottish prawn fleet. Some of this money was reinvested in larger UK boats with more advanced technology, hence the big increase in UK sales. There are fewer UK owned boats landing at Bailemór but their catching capacity is vastly increased.

TABLE 3: BAILEMÓR PORT SALES

Year	UK boats	Foreign boats	Total
1991	£8,203,657	£1,411,684	£9,615,341
1992	£6,670,339	£9,385,209	£16,055,548
1993	£6,100,517	£11,796,933	£17,897,450
1994	£7,643,222	£12,173,528	£19,816,750
1995 (provisional)	£9,673,000	£10,890,000	£20,563,000
1996 (provisional)	£12,253,000	£13,652,000	£25,905,000

All the UK boats and their skippers and crews are from the east coast of Scotland or Shetland. There have been strong ties between Bailemór and east coast towns such as Lossiemouth and Buckie, since the 1960s. The local Bailemór fleet consists of a small number of much smaller boats, some trawling but mainly prawn boats which work creels. There are also a few even smaller boats which fish for lobster and velvet crabs. Some of the local boats 'double up' as passenger boats for tourist trips, or sea angling trips. Fish farming has also increased, as elsewhere in the Highlands. The salmon farm at Inchbost employs 14 men on what are by local standards good wages (£12,000 p.a.). In addition, at various stages over the last few years, people have farmed oysters and mussels, picked whelks, and caught elvers for the lucrative international market.

In Bailemór, there is a Harbour Office staffed by four Highland Council employees, with someone there from 9am to 10pm and on call at other times. This office is part of the new fish market building. The adjacent offices are occupied by the agents for the Spanish and French boats; Bailemór Fish Selling (the settling office, where they make up tallies of fish, numbers of boxes and price received, to give to the skippers) and a small local fish buying and processing firm which sells to local people and hotels in the western Highlands. The whole building is Highland Council property, built with the aid of E.U. money and opened in the early 1990s. The old market next door, being refurbished while I was living in Beulach, is used by the large French boats, which are unloaded onto a conveyor belt there. They lease the old market from Highland Council.

The new fish market has a big capacity (it can take 2,000 boxes) but is not often full. Markets can be held any weekday night, at 8pm from Mondays to Thursdays, and earlier on Fridays. There are nearly always markets on Mondays, Thursdays and Fridays, and occasionally on other nights depending on boat landings. Monday and Thursday are the busiest nights.

The agents for the Spanish multinational look after all their boats' needs, and only occasionally put fish onto the market in Beulach. Most is consigned (unloaded from boats straight on to lorries to be taken to markets abroad). The agents for the six French boats employ about ten local men 'lumping' (lumpers were the unionised porters at the Aberdeen markets, and the verb 'to lump' seems to have crossed over to the more casual labour of the west coast).

The harbour office staff keep an arrival and landing record for every boat, and agents are billed by Highland Council. The fee for consigning or landing is about 2% of the gross - so a lorryload of 300 boxes worth £20,000 will pay about £400. Highland Council and the Bailemór Fish Selling company sell fuel from different points of the pier. If Highland Council is the agent for a boat, the harbour office staff will arrange anything the boat crew wants in the way of stores, fuel, etc.

In general, most boats say when they are coming in and what catch they have: they phone this information in to the Bailemór Fish Selling Company for them to inform buyers, and the BFS lets the harbour office know. It is in the boats' interests to let the harbour office

know this information as they will then tell them which of the market's 16 doors to berth at. However, there is no legal requirement for boats to give specific information.

There are also pontoon berths for private/pleasure boats (both local and visiting), for which a weekly charge is paid to the Harbour office. The lifeboat, crewed by Bailemór men on a largely voluntary basis, is also moored at the pier.

The Beulach Estate

In the past, the estate was a major employer, providing a range of jobs including trade apprenticeships. The meal mill and sawmill on the River Beulach was out of use as a meal mill before 1900, but converted to electricity and still used as a sawmill through the 1950s. After that it remained as the joinery workshop until about 20 years ago. Up until then, there was always an estate joiner and at least one apprentice, often two at different stages. At that point, there were also four or five maintenance staff, known (as they still are) as the ground squad. In addition to the ground squad and joinery workshop, there used to be a slater, mason and subcontracted plumber. There was a housekeeper and other house staff, a gardener, and a cowman. Even when the current proprietor took over from his father in the 1960s, there were seven shepherds and five gamekeepers, along with far more ground staff, who were needed to repair cottages and other buildings. The estate also used to run salmon bagnetting in the north of the parish, employing six men during the season, but this was discontinued for financial reasons in the 1990s.

In the past, the factor was more of an active, out-and-about person. When there were sheep, cattle, and peats to be cut, more things needed done on a practical and day-to-day basis, rather than now, where the factor is a businessman/economist whose job is financially efficient management.

In 1996, in addition to the factor and two office workers, there were three maintenance staff, 5 stalkers and 1 water bailiff. Other staff (river watchers, poaching patrol, housekeeper and cook for the lodges) are now employed on a seasonal basis only. The current factor has held his post for three years and in that time they have cut back by four full-time staff. At least three of the current full-time estate employees were preceded in their jobs by their fathers. The water bailiff's father was also a water bailiff, and the fathers of the now two-man ground squad worked as groundies and ghillies. The estate also employs people on the

poaching patrol, in a boat which doubles as a pleasure launch for the landowner's family. The new poaching patrol employee is also self-employed and has been taken on by the estate on a seasonal basis. There has been a definite shift not only in numbers of employees but in the style of employment, from a 'job for life' in a very paternalistic atmosphere, to contracting out jobs such as fencing (often to east coast tradesmen) and purely business-like relations.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the estate still owns a considerable number of buildings. However, they have been selling off many of their buildings in recent years. Over the years, the estate has shed its responsibilities for crofting areas, employees, livestock and buildings, focusing increasingly on the inland deer forests and fishing rights. Of recent years, the main work on the estate has been building a new hotel and lodge. The village stores and the hotel provide significant seasonal work (and limited year-round work).

One of the Bailemór garages is a good example of how estate employment changed in the post-war period, in this instance to the advantage of employer and employee. The estate always had an employee to look after all its vehicles. A 'new boy' came from Yorkshire and worked for several years for the estate as a mechanic, and then came to an arrangement with them about running his own business. He got estate premises in the village and continued to maintain their vehicles, and expanded from there to owning that garage and another in Ardrhu.

In general, the job for life has been replaced to a large extent by contracting out, and employees must of necessity have the 'portfolio approach' much talked of in post-industrialisation literature (Harvey, 1990; Handy, 1984).

Tourism

Tourism is significant in Beulach in both positive and negative ways. The lochs, rivers and mountains of the area have long attracted anglers, hillwalkers and climbers. Visitors interested in flora, fauna and geology are also drawn to Beulach. In addition to this, the peace and quiet, scenery and clean white sand beaches are attractive to families and other visitors seeking a break from urban life. Many of these return regularly and some go on to make Beulach their home.

The extent of tourism is hard to quantify. The Tourist Board itself emphasises the need for caution when using its figures. They know of 12 hotels and guest houses; 38 'Bed and Breakfasts'; and 50 self-catering establishments in Beulach, but stress that there are many more. I would assess that the most under-represented category in these figures are Bed and Breakfasts, as B&B is provided by many women temporarily and informally, e.g., when their children are small, or when extra cash is needed by the family. The 1991 Census records only 39 rooms available in hotels and guest houses, and 37 in holiday accommodation (excluding second homes).

There is a tourist information centre in Bailemór which recorded around 20,000 visits throughout each summer season in the early 1990s. Since the opening of the large new centre, this figure has doubled for 1995 and 1996.

Gilligan (1987) concludes from his research in Padstow that census data are unhelpful for tourism statistics: jobs are shifted from category to category in each census; and can be part of the undeclared informal economy. In Padstow as in Beulach, tourism fits well into the residents' experience of employment in terms of its low wages and lack of secure full-time work.

However, while specific figures are badly kept and unreliable where they exist, certain trends are evident. 'Summer visitors' were clearly a low-key feature of Beulach life before the Second World War. The earliest (apart from, of course, land and property owning gentry) appear to have come to Beulach in the late 1920s, and lodged in people's houses. There was a tourism boom in the 1960s and into the early 1970s, centred round people camping, staying in caravans, and letting houses. B&B grew, as did the practice of letting out the family house entire for the summer (often living in an adjacent summer hut or 'shack'). By the 1980s, chalets were replacing caravans (now seen as too basic). There are still a few campsites and a youth hostel, which are quite busy in the high season of the school summer holidays. The season also appears to be gradually stretching, from the earlier, frantically busy months of July and August, to a calmer and longer season lasting from Easter until the end of the October school holidays, with another short burst of activity over Christmas and New Year.

Social Life

There is a fairly vociferous minority of anti-drinking religious people in the parish: not in fact the Presbyterians associated with Highland stereotypes, but in the main, relatively young and middle class evangelical in-migrants (some of long standing residence). A Community Care Needs meeting I attended spent considerable time debating problem drinking. Points from the floor mainly concerned the need to 'catch them earlier' through education about alcohol in school and, most importantly, provision of other things to do. One woman said that currently, "the pub is the only focus of community life", although she believed parents had aspirations for this to change, with campaigns for better leisure facilities and evening classes underway.

'The pub' in Bailemór is the hotel bar, situated at the pier end of the village, often used by foreign fishermen off the large multinational-owned boats. A frequently heard refrain is that not many locals go to the pub any more, and it is certainly often very quiet, and quieter than when I worked in the hotel eight years ago. In any daytime visit it is possible to predict with reasonable certainty the few locals who will be there. While I was living in Beulach, a café at the other end of the village also got a license. This has attracted local custom (particularly on Saturdays) as it is nearer the main concentration of housing in Ardglass, has satellite sport on TV, and is an alternative for those feeling resentment about the hotel bar. This has arisen due to the supposed preferential treatment of foreign fishermen and also because for many years, there was another pub beside the hotel, which was bought over and closed down by the current hotel owners.

There are also moves afoot to open another pub in the north of the parish. A young couple living six miles north of Bailemór are proposing to build a pub/café in their crofting township, probably open seasonally to provide food, drink and entertainment for local residents and the large number of summer visitors in that area. This has caused interesting conflict, discussed in more depth in Chapter Six.

The hotel bar, then, is often very quiet. In the summers it is busier both with visitors and locals (cf., Brody, 1973). The busiest times of the week are Thursday and Friday nights. Late licenses used to be on Thursdays and Fridays only, and all discos and dances in the village hall too were traditionally on Fridays. As recently as the end of the 1980s, it was

unheard of for social functions to be held on Saturdays, as this would run over into the Sabbath.

The village hall also has licensed functions, generally during the summer months, and usually run by voluntary organisations to raise money for various causes. Apart from discos, live bands and ceilidhs, the village hall is the venue for meetings, the playgroup, quiz nights, theatre performances, concerts, etc. Attendance at these is very erratic and somewhat unpredictable. For example, a meeting about future developments in the parish surgery was packed out, while a meeting about the local radio station to the south of Beulach was empty. As far as I could identify any pattern, it seemed to depend upon a crucial combination of publicity and word of mouth, the time of year, the nature of the event itself, and what else has been on recently. People seem more eager to attend things in the spring and early summer, then are generally very busy during the summer with work commitments, and then wind down to a quiet winter. However, the (licensed) quiz nights that ran throughout the winter were full if the organisers rang round in advance for team entries. People often complain that there is nothing to do over the winter, yet will not leave the pub until it has shut to move on to a village hall function, even if it is also licensed. As the pub has late licenses on Fridays, this can often decimate attendance at a village hall dance until the last half hour.

The village hall is the most common location for committee meetings. Voluntary organisations are a large part of Beulach's social (and economic) life, as will be seen in Chapter Six.

Another place where people meet, play pool and eat, is strictly alcohol-free. The Royal and National Missions to Deep Sea Fishermen, or RNMDSF, is a registered charity originally founded in 1881, to alleviate conditions for fishermen on the North Sea and bring them the messages of Christianity and temperance. The RNMDSF is simply known in Bailemór as the Fishermen's Mission or, more commonly, the Mission, and its Superintendent is called the Mission man.

The Mission opens and closes branches depending on where the centre of fishing is. It opened in Bailemór in 1969, which was if anything a bit late - the boom time started earlier. In Bailemór, it has become to an extent a community centre, due to the small size of the

village and lack of alternative facilities. Highland Council and the local enterprise company realise this and give financial help to the Mission (e.g., a grant to modernise the kitchen 2 years ago). According to the current Mission Man:

To a lot of people, the Mission is open as a cafeteria, a place where they can get a meal, maybe a shower, do their laundry, watch some TV, play pool or snooker...get their cigarettes or whatever, and that's all there is to it. They know there is some kind of Christian connection, but that's all. But often, in the course of that, there may be a time when someone needs real help. The Mission is there for those who need it, whatever that need might be, whether it's a physical need, a spiritual problem, a personal problem, a financial problem or whatever.

The Superintendent and his wife live in a flat above the centre. There are also two emergency beds for fishermen's use. With the advent of helicopters this role is less important as more men are carried directly from boats to hospital.

The Mission is in constant use by fishermen throughout the year. From May to September, a fair number of visitors also use the centre. There is fairly regular use by other groups in the community throughout the year. The Mission café is open from 10am to 10pm from Mondays to Fridays, all year round.

The Beulach Centre in Ardglass also functions as a social meeting point for many of the elderly in the parish. From the start, it was recognised that as the population is so small and geographically dispersed, it would not be possible to fill the centre throughout the week. Rather, they do lunch clubs twice a week which cater for up to 25 people. There are various other activities such as art classes, keep fit, and day trips to shops, theatre shows or swimming pools, etc. Other local organisations meet from time to time in the Centre. There are also coffee mornings and sales (e.g., for Save the Children's Christmas catalogue). There is a tendency for the Centre to be used by a smallish core of regulars, virtually none of whom actually grew up in the parish (when I first went in to ask the staff about interviewing people there, they couldn't think of anyone who came often to the centre who had been at school in the parish).

Many older people in Beulach remark that social life (usually referred to in terms of 'community spirit') went through a 'bad patch' during the 1960s and '70s, and has revitalised over the last ten years. More recently still, I have heard a couple of long-term residents,

who have been involved in many social organisations, discussing what they see as social 'fragmentation' resulting from population growth and increased numbers of in-migrants in the 1990s. Their theory was that Bailemór has now grown big enough to develop splinter groups of different interests, but not big enough for each group and social event to have sufficient numbers on its own.

Religion: Churches, Weddings, Funerals

There are several different churches in Beulach, and while many lament about the dwindling role religion plays in people's life, church-related events did seem to form a significantly large part of social life and communal events in the parish. To the outsider (and apparently to the bulk of Bailemór inhabitants, many of whom use the term 'Wee Free' to refer to anyone considered a religious diehard) the schisms of Highland churches are baffling and hard to follow. I attempt to summarise them here, hopefully without doing undue violence through simplification.

The Free Church was built in 1893. In 1992, the Free Church minister left Beulach to go to a calling elsewhere in the Highlands. The Free Church then joined with the Associated Presbyterian Church (APC: the group which broke away from the Free Presbyterians following Lord Mackay's attendance at a Catholic funeral). The combined congregations used the Free Church building and the APC minister (still residing in the FP manse). When the APC minister left in 1995, the Free Presbyterians changed the locks on the manse to reclaim it from the APC, although they still do not have a minister.

The APC and Free Church made an unprecedented agreement to pool their resources to fund a new minister, and appointed Andrew Davies. He does not conform to the traditional type of Presbyterian minister, and despite or perhaps because of this (he fits in well to the Beulach streak of evangelism and 'born again' Christianity), he and his family have been well accepted. He has moved away from some traditional practices, e.g., he mentioned the names of the deceased at a funeral. There were initially minor shockwaves when his older children attended a quiz night in the village hall, which also had a bar, but in general everyone seems to speak highly of him.

The Church of Scotland has prayer meetings on Tuesdays, and an open Bible study session on Wednesday nights (also attended by at least two members of the House Fellowship). The Church of Scotland minister is the longest standing minister currently in Beulach. His predecessor was also in office for a long time, and was a much respected Highlander. The current incumbent, however, is treated with a fascinating blend of deference and contempt. He is evangelical and firmly emphasises the importance of being 'born again'. He has strong black and white views on issues such as drinking, cohabitation and women's role in the church. Although most of the 'holies' - regular attenders and hard-working for church causes - are women, none are elders. The minister will not marry cohabiting couples in the church building (but will in the hotel), and requires parents-to-be to attend church if they want their baby to be christened.

The Fishermen's Mission is inter-denominational and part of its constitution is that its services should not be held at the same time as any other church service locally. In Bailemór, the Mission service is on the first Sunday in the month at 7.45pm. People (generally those fairly involved in church affairs) from all the other churches and religious groups apart from the Free Presbyterians attend. The current Superintendent is actually a Methodist minister, with an evangelical outlook, which obviously influences the service and the composition of the congregation. He is also an elder in the Church of Scotland in Bailemór (the only elder), and his wife sings in the choir. Activities such as the choir, Christian youth group, and fund-raising activities tend to be quite inter-denominational.

There is also a Christian House Fellowship in the village. This is held in the home of the Macleod family, and another large family attend, along with occasional visitors to the area. Iain Macleod's family were Free Church, but when he and his wife Sally were in their twenties, neither of them went to church. They were introduced to House Fellowships by a couple from a fishing village on the east coast who were holidaying in Bailemór, and then they set up their own Fellowship. Iain also goes to the Free Church on Sunday evenings now. They do not see themselves in competition with the other churches and would like to see more links between all the churches. They chose to meet on Sunday mornings at a time that did not clash with other services, and they have a prayer meeting and bible study on Thursday evenings.

Without being a completely straightforward division, there is a discernible pattern of church attendance. Socio-economic elites and incomers tend to go to the Church of Scotland (e.g., landowners, doctor's family) while the 'old local families' are Free Church. The Free Presbyterian church in Bailemór is now very small indeed, regular attenders being composed of only two families. The minister for the last few years has been based over an hour's drive to the south. The Free Presbyterians are widely viewed as the strictest of all the churches.

Illness, death and childbirth are of enormous social importance in Beulach, particularly among women/older members of the community. The gossip network functions to ensure that people very quickly hear of new babies, serious illness or death. People feel very awkward and embarrassed if they discover that they have been unaware of such an event. They often send cards or flowers to the Inverness hospital (or if visiting someone, make a point of saying hello to anyone else from the parish who is also in the hospital), or phone relatives. As my grandfather died while I was living in Beulach, I had personal experience of how comforting and supportive this positive side of the gossip network can be, but it is also clear that many people (e.g., in cases of long term illness, miscarriages) find it very intrusive and go to some lengths to play down or conceal serious illness.

Attendance at a funeral itself varies depending on who has died. When two young fishermen died last year in a car crash, the Free Church was literally overflowing with people, many of whom had travelled from other fishing communities. There is also a big turn out at the funerals of well-known local figures and 'real old locals'. When other older people die, the congregation is mainly the elderly of the parish, relatives of the deceased, and a smattering of younger people, such as neighbours of the deceased.

It is felt that ideally a man from the house should represent their family at a funeral. Traditionally, women did not go on from the church to the cemetery. This is no longer the case, although more elderly women sometimes do not go on after the service. The cemetery is six miles from Bailemór, so generally only those who knew the deceased quite well go to it.

It is also traditionally the case that the Church of Scotland is more personal. In the other churches, the deceased's name is not mentioned and no flowers are accepted at church or

graveside. The new Free Church/APC minister has broken this mould recently, using the names of the young fishermen who died and talking about them and their families in the service.

Weddings are still generally held on Fridays, from the tradition of making sure celebrations did not run over into the Sabbath. This was true of all weddings held in the village while I was there, including two which did not take place in the church, where the couples in question had been cohabiting and were not churchgoers.

Weddings either take place in church or in a hotel, or in hotels to the south of the village. If they are in the village, women not invited to the actual ceremony will turn out 'to see the bride going in'. Prior to the wedding, there was in the past 'the blackening' or 'doing' of the couple. This is not as strong a practice as previously but is still carried out, particularly where both partners grew up in the village. Not as elaborately ritualised as in east coast fishing communities (cf., Munro, 1996; Knipe, 1984), it basically involves catching the lucky couple unawares a few days before the wedding and covering them in eggs, flour, syrup, etc. Couples married in the last ten years have had blackenings: as one 32 year old woman told me, "I was washing scrambled egg out of my hair right up till the day of the wedding". Hen and stag nights are not terribly common, although on the increase (as trips away from Beulach).

People who have been cohabiting are more likely to get married in a hotel. It seems quite acceptable to most to cohabit: many couples do, some marrying eventually, or before having children.

Again cards, flowers and other gifts are common at the time of a wedding. Even if you are not close enough to be invited to the wedding or reception, it is customary to give a gift or at least send a card. For many Bailemór wives, these sorts of social tasks make up quite a substantial amount of their unpaid work.

Conclusion

Beulach in many respects parallels the demographic processes evident throughout the developed world. After a century long dwindling of population, which accelerated greatly after both World Wars, decline slowed around the late 1960s, and population numbers have

since then stabilised and even grown slightly. There has been an increase in numbers of children born locally, but population change is largely attributable to substantial immigration. The proportion of English-born residents in the area has grown, but other factors such as return migration play a significant role, as is discussed in more depth in Chapter Six.

The Beulach economy is now based largely around small businesses related to crofting, fishing and tourism, with some larger operators such as the Fish Selling Company and the knitwear factory. Opportunities are far greater and more diverse than they have been for most of this century. These changes feature strongly in the life history accounts of Chapter Five.

Chapter Seven expands on the brief outline given here of Beulach social life, and Chapter Eight's focus on one particular township develops many of the issues outlined above.

CHAPTER FIVE
Oral History Accounts of Migration and Social Change

ORAL HISTORY ACCOUNTS OF MIGRATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Introduction

I have argued in the methods chapter that research into migration has tended to be a 'snapshot in time'. My interest in social change, belonging and the life history accounts of older people, combined with a long period of residence in the parish, has led me to focus on migration processes over time. A sense of this seems to be missing from the literature, despite the assertions of Lumb (1982) and Macleod (1995b) that migration in the Highlands and Islands is normative not deviant. It is not clear at what stage migration has become normative, and the metaphorical rhetoric (identified by Jedrej and Nuttall, 1996) which assumes a point in the past where everyone was local, persists.

This gap in the literature has also been noted by Knight (1994) in his critique of Cohen's ethnography of Whalsay (1987). Knight points out that there are minimal references to migration in the book, which he argues amounts to a slippage from the symbolic to the structural sense of boundary, where the boundary is an actual thing which insulates local people from the outside. Knight states that in the standard ethnographical approach, "the focus on everyday life is at the expense of other temporal dimensions of the social such as that of the life-course" (1994: 221). He believes that a life course focus on local people would show how local and extra-local social ties are biographically combined. Migration does not have to mean social loss and demographic deficit - it can be viewed as an elaboration of social ties. Contrary to the way in which it tends to be represented, "migration is often *not* a stark secessional unilinear movement in which villagers are transfigured into urbanites" (1994: 221).

My data showed the long-term patterns of migration over the life course of the individual and over generations of the same family very clearly. The extent of extra-local kin and work ties was also very apparent.

The material in this chapter has links to the next, which discusses belonging and immigration, and to Chapter Eight, which examines the experiences of one particular township.

In this chapter, I begin by setting out details of my interviewees. I then go on to examine the experience of living and working in Beulach before the Second World War, and how interviewees' lives and choices were affected by factors such as gender and socio-economic status. Routes away from and back to Beulach are analysed in detail, including attitudes to the parish. A section on living and working in Beulach since the Second World War concludes the chapter.

How Local are the Real Locals?

I was struck very quickly in the course of my research by how unusual it was to find someone whose whole family had been 'born and bred' in the same parish. Of course, this is a phenomenon fairly well documented in the literature: e.g., Jedrej and Nuttall (1995: 115); Lumb (1982: 62); and Strathern, who remarked that: "The temptation is to go in search of the stable inner core of real locals. But most of them vanish under scrutiny" (1984: 186).

What intrigued me was that it seemed frequently to be the case that even those thought of as the 'real old locals' had this sort of background.

This became obvious due to the snowballing approach I took to finding interviewees. I kept asking people (the history society, interviewees, anyone I was speaking to about the research) who would be interesting for me to speak to about the parish, and about how it had changed. So I knew I was being referred to those considered at least to have been around a long time, and usually the 'really local'.

It was very common for younger people to assume dyed-in-the-wool localness of older parishioners when this was not strictly the case, but I also found that older people often thought it of each other - unless they had been at the same primary school and knew the other person well. This is quite easily understandable given the oft-repeated oral history testimony to the township-based nature of life in Beulach earlier this century: where a bicycle was quite a luxury; grocery vans called round the houses; and a trip to Bailemór was

an event. Living in Camasmuran and working in Murach, ten miles distance by road at most, meant staying in Murach all week and returning home only at weekends. My mother and another 'summer visitor' her age never met, despite spending all the summers of their childhood and beyond in Beulach - but in townships seven miles apart, to the north and south of Bailemór.

Another common refrain was that I should have been around to do the study twenty years before as 'all the real locals/characters have died out'. I was amused to see in the literature that this is a common judgement. Williams refers to "the tendency of the Gosforthian to look on the present life of the parish as an impoverished edition of what it was in his youth. So marked was this tendency that one could not but regret that the study was apparently made twenty or thirty years too late" (1956: 202). In Scotland, folklore collector Calum Maclean reckoned in the 1940s that the best informants had gone to their graves thirty years before (Jedrej and Nuttall, 1996: 112). I have a vision of researchers across Britain being discouraged and frustrated by similar laments.

The situation, then, is that the people I was directed to were thought of as 'real old worthies', so although my research is hard to quantify, it is interesting to look at just how local these people were.

Of 28 people born between 1898 and 1929 (12 men and 16 women) who were able to tell me the origins of both their parents, 50% had parents who were both born in Beulach; 14% had one Beulach-born parent; and in 36% of cases, neither parent had been born in Beulach.

Three of the women I knew in advance to be in-marrying wives: one, the local Gaelic expert, from Rhudach (to the south of Beulach); one from Yorkshire; and one from Dumfries. All married 'real local' men, born in Beulach with at least one parent also from Beulach. A fourth woman I knew had been born in Glasgow but had Beulach grandparents and had spent her childhood in Beulach, brought up by her aunt and uncle. I had wanted to speak to her as this is one of the 'real local' families of Ardbeith. It turned out that her aunt was born in Glasgow, with a mother from Beulach and a father from Islay (the common pattern of Highlanders meeting and marrying other Highlanders in Glasgow was evident amongst Beulach residents), and her uncle's immediate family was actually from Rhudach.

Of the remainder, eight men and six women had parents who were both from Beulach. Many of these informants did not know much about where their family had come from before this. Three of the men had been born in their father's family house, which had been built following evictions from land destined to be sheep farms, elsewhere in the area. Two of the women knew they had relatives from outside the parish: the first had two centuries of local forebears, but knew that she also had great-great-grandparents from all over the Highlands; and the mother of the second woman was from Beulach but did not speak Gaelic as one of her parents had come from elsewhere.

Of the remaining ten, three women had one parent from Beulach. Two were sisters, with a mother from Beulach and a father from Stornoway (who had again met in Glasgow). They were brought up in Renfrew and Beulach. The third was born and brought up in Beulach, with a Beulach mother and father from Loch Broom. A fourth woman, considered a Beulacher, was born in Beulach herself but her mother was from elsewhere and her father was born in Glasgow, although then brought up in Beulach by an aunt and uncle.

There were then two men who were not born in Beulach and whose parents were not from the parish either: one whose parents had come from Ardgay in Ross-shire when he was a small child, and another who came from the parish to the north of Beulach to work on the estate as a young man.

The remainder were born in the parish but both their parents were from elsewhere. One man's father was from a shepherding family on the north coast, and his mother's people were farm managers from Aberdeenshire, while she herself was born in Sutherland and educated on Skye. Another's mother was from Bettyhill and his father was from Aberdeen, and most of their nine children were born outside Beulach. One of the women's parents were from Kinlochbervie, to the north; and the other's mother was from Rhudach and father was from Golspie on the east coast.

Of 28 people viewed by many as the best sources of local knowledge, then, only half had parents who were both from Beulach. Virtually all non-Beulach ancestors, though, are from other Highland areas (sometimes even parishes immediately adjacent) and from Grampian.

This is not to suggest that these are the only 13 people in Beulach who are 'true locals'. Obviously some much younger people would be considered as such (if they have been born and lived there all their life, have other family there, etc.) and there are other elderly people not included in the interviews, who would probably exhibit a similar pattern if interviewed.

In sum, we have a situation where those viewed as 'local locals' often have forebears from elsewhere. In the cases of interviewees who had extensive knowledge of their family trees, the degree of movement in parental and grandparental generations suggests that if others had known more, it would be likely that at least some relatives would be from outside Beulach, probably from other Highland areas. It was notable that elderly women who had married in to 'real local' families had adult children viewed as quintessentially local by most (even where the mother had kept her English accent after fifty-plus years of residence in Beulach). In-marrying wives excepted, the common form of in-migration in the past seems to have been internal to the northern Scottish uplands (plus some Borders sheep farming families who in-migrated during the 19th century). Since the late 1960s, this has been supplemented by substantial inter-regional, international movement. However, it should be remembered that in the earlier years of this century, as one elderly man said, a place only 30 miles away "seemed...a foreign land".

Case Study Families

For the purposes of this chapter, the case studies I am focusing on are drawn from twenty interviews with members of the fifteen families from which I gained most in-depth information. In addition, there were interviews with seven people where the focus was far less on family migration patterns, and a further three women who did not wish to be tape recorded. These ten people provide supplementary data so they are listed at the foot of the table.

TABLE 4: CASE STUDY FAMILIES

Family	Member(s) Interviewed	Date of birth	Place of birth	Place living at time of interview
key informants				
A	Willie (Isabel)	1904 (1900s)	Fearn (Fearn)	Bailemór (Glasgow)
B	Davey Hugh	1929 1927	Strondubh Strondubh	Glasgow USA
C	Liza	1910	Glasgow	Glasgow
D	Lexy	1916	Argyllshire	Strondubh
E	Chrissie	1920	Achmore	Achmore
F	Murdo Peggy	1924 1922	Ardbeith Ardbeith	Bailemór Ardbeith
G	Andrew	1927	Bailemór	Bailemór
H	Archie	1906	Inchbost	Inchbost
I	Johnny	1915	Ross-shire	Feadan
J	Sandy	1922	Fearn	Fearn
K	Kenneth	1913	Pollan	Pollan
L	George	1926	Torbeag	Torbeag
M	Tom	1919	Camasmuran	Inverness
N	Helen	1916	Yorkshire (husband from Murach)	Ardbeith
O	Catriona	1924	Bailemór	Bailemór
supplementary informants				
P	Kitty Margaret	1930s 1930s	Renfrew	Clach
Q	Eilidh	1920s	Rhudach	Bailemór
R	Annie	1920s	Achmore	Achmore
S	Ella Frances	1920s 1920s	Feadan Feadan	Feadan Feadan
T	Katharine	1920s	Braebreac	Braebreac
U	Nancy	1920s	Dumfries (husband from Fearn)	Fearn
V	Marion	1898	Torbeag	Bailemór
W	Kevin Morag (spouses)	1910s 1920s	Storrig Invertulloch	Bailemór

Leaving and Returning: Migration as the Norm

The constant backdrop to Highland demographics has been the interaction of diaspora and upheaval with social and economic change: clearances, congestion, land hunger, war, restricted employment opportunities, etc. Staged against this backdrop, personal experiences of migration, both individual and familial, seem natural and logical.

Without exception, my interviewees had experienced migration in their families, and the majority of even the 'local locals' had experienced it in their own lives. People who did stay in Beulach often did so as they had little choice - they could not afford to 'better themselves' through schooling, or had to look after the family croft and aged parents. These factors will be looked at in more detail in later sections.

I do not wish to do too much violence to the subtleties of the data by quantifying it into categories, but certain patterns emerge more clearly with some simplification.

Under discussion here are the 18 families where I know what happened to *all* the siblings (i.e., the generation born largely between 1900-1930, although if those interviewed were the youngest of the family, some would have been born in the latter years of the nineteenth century).

There were no only children, but in two cases (Families C and D), my interviewees Liza and Lexy were brought up in Beulach and their siblings grew up elsewhere. Both Liza and Lexy left Beulach after school, and Lexy later returned.

In six cases, one or more siblings stayed all their lives in Beulach (this includes two men who were away during World War Two and returned straight after), and other siblings left, in some cases returning.

In ten families, *all* siblings left (for longer than the duration of compulsory service in the armed forces) and one or more returned. In three of these cases, whole families left, and the croft house was sold, but a member of the family returned later in life.

In only two cases of the total eighteen, were the only returning family members of retirement age: most came back before their sixties. In eight families, at least one sibling emigrated (to Canada, USA, Australia or South Africa) and made that country their

permanent home. In seven families, at least one sibling made another part of the Highlands their permanent home. The remainder moved to places all over Britain.

It could be argued here that a weakness of the methodology is the potential for missing the people where the whole family has left and none return. This is indeed difficult to judge, but it would seem that most keep some kind of ongoing tie. From what people said about other families in their townships as well as their own lives, it would seem that the out-migration of whole families was more common in the time of Clearances and assisted passages abroad, while the norm this century has been to hold on to the family croft house, even if only to use it as a holiday home and eventually retire to it. The three cases where whole families left involved a combination of deaths and business difficulties, and in one of the cases (Family H), neither of my interviewee's parents came from Beulach.

In all eighteen cases, members of their parents' generation had been 'scattered all over the place'. This cannot be more precisely quantified, as parents were typically from large families with a wide age range, and informants were unsure what had happened to all of their parents' siblings. Five families talked of substantial emigration in their parents' generation.

Twelve of my interviewees also discussed the migration decisions of their children (several had none). In five cases, all the children are living in Beulach. In two cases, all children are living elsewhere in Highland region. In two cases, children either left or grew up elsewhere. In three cases, some have left and some have stayed/returned.

It should be noted that the five cases where all the interviewees' children are living in the parish represent a new phenomenon not found in their parents' or grandparents' generation, reflecting the growth in affluence and opportunity (nationally and locally).

At this point, I wish to substantiate the statistics above with short vignettes of seven of the families. They and others will be returned to in greater detail whilst exploring various themes later in the chapter. This introduces some of the recurring themes and shows some of the subtleties of the processes outlined simply above.

Vignettes

Family D: the Morrisons

Ancestors of the Morrison family have lived in Beulach for at least 200 years, but others came from all over the Highlands, including Skye, Sutherland and Caithness. In every generation, they "scattered all over the world". Lexy was born in Argyllshire in 1916, and sent back to Camasmuran in Beulach shortly afterwards when her mother died. Her older siblings were brought up by her father and other relatives. She lived with her maternal grandfather, aunt and uncle. Her grandfather had five children by his first marriage, and five by his second. Of the ten, only two of the 'second family' remained in Beulach, unmarried. Lexy herself was encouraged to do well at school and go on to university. She taught in Glasgow but returned to Beulach regularly on holidays. When the teacher's post in the local school became vacant, she took it, as her aunt and uncle were becoming elderly. Lexy has one son, who was secondary school age when they returned to Beulach. He joined the RAF but returned to Beulach to run the croft (supplemented by working at the pier) when Lexy's uncle died. He married a woman from Derbyshire whom he met while she was on holiday in Beulach. They have two little girls who go to the same school as Lexy did in the 1920s. The family are the most active crofters in that part of Beulach, with a lot of livestock. They live in the old family home in Camasmuran, and Lexy lives in another house nearby in Strondubh.

Family M: the Macleods

Tom Macleod's father had only one brother, who went to Inverness to work as a shoemaker. Tom's mother came from the now near-deserted township of Riach, in north Beulach. She and all her sisters went south, mainly into service in Glasgow, apart from one who went to South Africa to work as a nurse. Tom's mother returned to marry, but brought up her three sons encouraging them to leave and better themselves. One of the boys returned, and his widow, three adult children and grandchildren live in Beulach still. Another has lost touch with the rest of the family but is believed to be in London¹. Tom was the eldest, born in 1919, and he left Beulach at the age of 19 to join the police force in Inverness. After the war, he and his wife emigrated to Peru for seven years, where he worked at a smelter. They returned 'home' (which was Inverness as far as they were both concerned) and have lived there since. Tom has little contact with Beulach, and I was lucky to meet him on one of his rare visits.

¹ Since the interviews, he has been traced and paid a visit to Beulach, with Tom, for the 1997 Games Day.

Family K: the MacRaes

Seven generations of MacRaes have lived in the township of Pollan. Kenneth's father Murdoch was the eldest brother in his generation, and so inherited the croft. The other two brothers emigrated to the Yukon, one going on from there to Nigeria. Murdoch left Pollan in 1900 to join the police force in Glasgow, and returned in 1911 after he broke his leg, marrying a girl called Katy, from Riach, in 1912. They opened a shop in Pollan and had six children. The eldest, Kenneth, was born in 1913. The whole family left the area in 1931 as they were struggling to make a living. The four girls all became nurses, one emigrating to Canada, and the younger brother joined the police. Kenneth inherited the croft and returned to Beulach (with his second wife) when he retired in 1978 after a career in motor sales. He was the only one of the family to go back. He built a modern bungalow overlooking the whole of Pollan, including his old family house.

Family N: the Mathesons

Helen came to Beulach to finish her training as a district nurse in 1941, fell in love, and stayed. She and Roddy got married in 1945. Roddy's father had run a shop in Achmore, but left to fish for lobster from Murach, and built a house there. Roddy and his siblings were all born in the house (as was Helen's son William). Roddy had three sisters, and three brothers who each died of infections caught whilst away from Beulach. His mother did not want him to leave home as she was scared he would die too. Helen said it was usually the girls who went away and the boys who stayed, but in that family it was the opposite. However, one of the sisters emigrated, although she returned shortly before her death. Helen and Roddy lived in the Murach house with his mother and his sister Catherine, a teacher in the local school. After the birth of their first two daughters, they moved to Shetland for a winter, and Helen worked as a nurse. However, they decided to come back as the house was unfit for children as it was so damp, and Roddy was finding it hard to get work. Back in Beulach, Helen continued to work on and off as a nurse, and Roddy did lobster fishing and worked as a lorry and snow plough driver for the county council.

They had four daughters, who all left the parish to work as nurses, and a son, who has spent most of his life working in the fishing industry in Beulach. Two of the daughters have returned in the last ten years with their families, to run businesses in Beulach. Helen now lives with one of them in Ardbeith.

Family L: the MacIvers

The MacIvers come from the inland township of Torbeag. Their mother was the youngest of her family and stayed at home in Beulach to nurse her invalid mother, marrying after her mother died. Their father had been a coachman and an estate worker, but by the time the children were born, he was "just getting by on crofting, and ghillieing on the lochs". The MacIvers had a boy and two girls, who all left Beulach after school. The eldest girl, Jean (born in 1910), went into service when she left school, in a manse on the east coast. She was stationed in Leeds during the war, and then worked in various hotels, eventually becoming a housekeeper in an upmarket London hotel. She married a London-based Scot and still lives there. The second, Dolly, went to catering college in Edinburgh. She returned

to the east coast town she had gone to school in, and got married there. She was a manager of school canteens for the county, and then a hotel manager. After this she ran a restaurant in Tain, and then in Bonar Bridge. Neither of the girls came back to Torbeag because "there was nothing there for them". The youngest, George, was born in 1926. He left Torbeag at the age of 12 to go to an east coast school and did not return full-time until 1970. He is a joiner to trade, and served his apprenticeship on the east coast before travelling and working all over Britain. He came back to Torbeag for all his holidays and helped out on the croft. When he came back with his wife and children in 1970, he increased the number of sheep on the croft, and only stopped keeping sheep in 1995. His son lives next door to him and works in Ardrhu, but his daughter has left the parish.¹

Family A: the Kerrs

Willie Kerr was born in 1904, in the house his father was born in. It was built in the 1830s by Willie's grandfather, who had been cleared from the land that was made into the sheep farm managed at the start of the next century by Family H. Willie's mother came from Murach. They had six girls and three boys, including Willie. He inherited the croft as he was the eldest boy. He also worked as a gamekeeper, which gave him a steady wage. He married a woman from London who came to Beulach as a maid, and they had four boys. They lived in a tied estate house in inland Beulach for his working life, and returned briefly to his family home when he retired. However, they decided to move into Bailemór village, and rent out the old house to holidaymakers.

Willie's eight siblings all left Beulach. His sisters went into service, mainly in Glasgow. Isabel recalls replacing her elder sister in the same service job, when her sister left to have a baby. Another of the sisters married someone living to the north of Beulach, and returned there. One of the other brothers went to Leicester and one emigrated to the States. Of Willie's own children, three now live in the parish (one recently retired back to Beulach) and one lives in France.²

Family H: the Mackays

The Mackay family came to Beulach in 1904. Mrs Mackay had been born and brought up in the Highlands, but her parents came from Grampian. They were farm managers and travelled all over Scotland. Mr Mackay's family were shepherds on the same farm on the north coast of Scotland from 1810 until 1926. Mr Mackay came to Beulach to be shepherd-manager at a farm a few miles from Inchbost. After three years, he took the farm over himself in partnership with a local man from Braebreac.

¹ Since the interviews, both George and his son have moved to Ardrhu.

² Since the interviews, Willie has died. His wife still lives in Beulach.

The Mackays had two children, first a boy in 1906, and then a girl five years later. The daughter married a man from Aberdeen who had a building business in South Africa. She emigrated with him and they have lived there since then. The son, Archie, went to agricultural college in Aberdeen. He was then meant to do a dairying diploma, but his father fell ill. Archie returned to Beulach and after his father died, he shepherded for seven years until his mother's tenancy ran out in 1933. She then retired to Aberdeenshire, and Archie went back to college. He met his wife Lucy at Scotland's dairy school in Ayr. They lived and worked all over England after they married. Archie finished his career back in Scotland, working for the Land Court. They bought an old croft house from people they knew in Inchbost who had built a new house and had no relatives interested in doing up the old one. Archie and Lucy renovated and extended it, and moved in in 1972. Their children live in England, but visit regularly.

It can be seen, then, that individuals in Beulach make their migration decisions against a long cyclical backdrop of leaving and returning. Many members of their families have left, some have returned, some have come and gone several times, and a few have always stayed. The larger world has impacted on these decisions and affected the extent to which one migration trend outweighs another - war, economic boom and recession, change (clearances, tourism, etc.) - but each individual is in a milieu where forebears and descendants have come and gone, and this is a part of Beulach 'way of life' and community. Connections are assumed not to be severed: six months after leaving the village, when I had felt I might have been forgotten, or at least that it would be assumed I was not coming back, in the course of one fortnight I was contacted by three different people (none of whom I knew very well) asking me if I would be back in the summer to take part in various parish activities. This inclusion of out-migrants has been documented by other researchers, e.g., Mewett (1982) and Parman (1990).

In accordance with Lumb (1982), in Beulach it is definitely the norm to go away for a while. Uist crofter and storyteller Angus MacLellan, born in 1869, sums up the ideal-typical model of migration across the Highlands and Islands until relatively recent times, when he says:

We were beside the sea, and there was no work to be had, and the only way you could get on was to take to the sea itself. I and everyone else in the family went away, and my father and mother were left alone; when they grew old, I had to come home to be with them.

(MacLellan, 1962: 6).

Despite what many of my own interviewees said about being forced to leave and longing to return, it is also clear that a fairly negative evaluation is made of staying in Beulach all your life. Attitudes to migration will be discussed in greater depth below, but first I wish to examine how interviewees' lives were structured by the interplay of constraint and choice.

Chance, Choice and Constraint

While living in Beulach and carrying out the interviews, I found myself continually pondering 'what ifs' - fascinated by the small chance changes that altered the choices and life course even of siblings in the same family, so dramatically. Individuals had no possible control over many of these events: for example, numbers of children their parents had; their position in birth order; serious illness; death. These 'accidents of demography' combined with responses and choices which were often made in a context of taken-for-granted assumptions that governed what was appropriate or natural. This was the case to the extent that for many people their life followed a logical progression, and in their narratives moments of choice were not recognised as such. The degree to which these *were* moments of choice is therefore debatable.

'Accidents of demography' that interviewees had little choice about or control over were often those involving family deaths, or parental remarriage. Lexy (Family D) was brought up in Beulach by relatives after the death of her mother. Families B, D and E all contained half-brothers and sisters, often with large age gaps between the two sets of children. In Families G and H, a son changed plans and returned after the sudden death of the father. In Family J, if Sandy's sister had not died young, she would probably have looked after his parents, and he would have emigrated to Canada.

It has already become clear in the vignettes above that the family you were born into had a great effect on whether you stayed in Beulach or left, and what you did. So far we have seen patterns that will be developed in the following sections: oldest sons inheriting crofts; daughters, and those who were the youngest in the family or the only one left, caring for parents; and gendered choices of employment.

Being born a girl pre-WWII automatically meant that you would probably have to leave Beulach to find employment. If you were the only girl, you would look after your parents,

unless you had emigrated. There might be a change in gender roles related to work and inheritance if all the children were girls, or if one of your parents had died and the other had remarried, as the older set of children tended to scatter worldwide.

Not all my interviewees were from crofting backgrounds, of course (some were farm managers, hoteliers, etc.). There were eleven families who were crofters, and in no case did a female interviewee inherit the croft.

In Family E, there were, however, two generations of female inheritance. Chrissie's mother had inherited as she was the only child of a second marriage, and all her older half-brothers and -sisters had left the area. Her daughter Chrissie was accorded an 'honorary boy' status:

I was the second oldest. And I was the one that did all the work with my father. We had no brothers, it was all the sisters. I remember, if the weather was poor, if there was a good day we'd get up at four in the morning to make a start gathering in the hay at the harvest time, to get the stacks made. So this Sunday night he said, it looked a very good night, so he said if it's a good morning we'll get up early, and we'll start. I got up at 3 or 4 in the morning - you see I was still going to school - and David MacAulay went up at half past seven in the morning with the mails, we'd got one stack made and the other half made, at 7 o'clock in the morning. I was up on the stack, doing the stack. And Davey stopped and said to my father, well Kenny, he says, you've never missed you haven't a son, because you've a Chrissie!

(Chrissie, Family E)

However, the croft was inherited by the eldest of the sisters, and is worked by the son of another sister (the only male of the family present in Beulach).

In Family D, there had been deaths and remarriages in both the parental and grandparental generations. Lexy was the only member present in the parish when her uncle died, and her son came home to take over the croft. As in Family E, there had been female inheritance in an earlier generation:

My grandmother Ann was a daughter of this John Macleod and the males of the family had all emigrated or gone away. So she was down in Tigh na Muran [family home] and my grandfather Macleod, Alexander Macleod from Braebreac, married and 'drew in his chair' as they say. I think they got married about 1860...there was lots of people all over. That was part of the problem you see. Too many people, for the land. They couldn't really live. You see the eldest son usually inherited and the others had to go away. And the daughters

of course had to go on working unless they got themselves a husband. Oh, they had to go away to get work, there was really nothing.

(Lexy, Family D)

In six cases, the inheriting man was the only or oldest son. In two cases, the man who inherited had other and older brothers, but he was the only son who had stayed in or returned to the area. In the last case, the youngest son stayed at home and worked the croft until he and his mother moved to Glasgow and the croft house was sold.

Croft inheritance, then, was clearly gendered and conventionally the inheritor was the oldest boy. This was not necessarily a prerogative to be jealous about:

And when my father got too old to do the cultivating, the croft just petered out, and he lived on whatever he had, with our assistance. And that was it. But none of us...I don't think we ever had any ambition to inherit. It was an abominable croft anyway, the ground was stony.

(Tom, Family M)

Inheriting could mean being trapped in poverty, tedious manual labour, and looking after your aged parents.

However, in only two cases did a man alone assume responsibility for looking after his parents: Andrew (Family G) who came back after his father died to keep his mother company, and Sandy (Family J), who stayed in Beulach as he felt he owed it to his parents. George (L) and Archie (G) were regularly back to help with work, but in most cases women, or a combination of brothers and sisters, looked after parents (and it should be noted that Andrew and Sandy above both had wives). There was a gendered division of responsibilities that comes across clearly when you look at Willie's narrative about Family A:

I was the only one that remained in the parish. Because I was the oldest. Well, my parents depended on me, being the oldest. Very much so, because there was no provision for old age at that time. And when my father died in 1929, the old age pension was 10 shillings a week, and there was a Means Test on it. There was so much kept off for the hens we had, and for the sheep and cattle. I think it was just 7 shillings a week we got. There was no provision for my mother of course. So really you were very dependent on the family you see. Absolutely. Well, families looked after their aged parents, you know, and

some of them were left on the shelf owing to that, but we were in the happy position, that there was a big family of us, and we looked after...my older sisters looked after our parents with great love and devotion. They were nursed at home until they died. But they [the sisters] were all happily married after that, they were lucky. There were daughters, you know, that were kept so long looking after their parents that they were too old to get married. For there was no other service for looking after them. It depended completely on the family. Very different nowadays. When my sisters left school, you know, they were just going away to service, one after another, but they were always very mindful of supporting the old. Part of their wages always came back home.

(Willie, Family A)

In fact, Willie was the oldest boy, and the sixth oldest in the family of nine. Moreover, rather than being simply depended on by his parents, his six sisters took it in turns to be at home caring for their parents and Willie (until he got married).

Family obligations were a complex blend of choice and constraint. For example, Lexy (D) was happy teaching in Glasgow, but when she was encouraged by the retiring Clach teacher to apply for the post there, she decided to take it as her aunt and uncle were getting frailer, and she says she was then happy teaching in Clach too. Catriona from Family O said that there was "something about Bailemór" and she had not wanted to leave altogether despite having "itchy feet". However, in a later conversation with me, she said unhesitatingly that she would have liked to have lived in Kenya, where she was working during the war, if it had not been for her parents needing her (even though two of her brothers lived all year round in Bailemór).

These emotions and pressures are articulated most explicitly by Peggy from Family F while talking about the care of their mother. Two brothers and a sister had emigrated, so obviously they could not help out. Of the remaining four, one brother lived in Bailemór, one sister lived in Rhudach, and the other brother and Peggy lived in Inverness:

I had my mother with me for years in Inverness, in her latter years, and I couldn't leave it because I'd bought a house there for her and it was convenient because my sister was in Rhudach and if there was anything wrong I knew my sister would take her and look after...Which she did, latterly, for the last months of her life. But...I was restricted in that way, for one thing, I couldn't accept the next stage of promotion because I would have to go down to England. And I knew this. But they were very good about it...and it was just...after her death I did get promotion, but I stayed on in Inverness at the time. But, it was all, you

see, this family thing was much stronger, it was a much stronger bond, and it wasn't really a hardship, you just felt...we had a marvellous mother, absolutely marvellous, she was indomitable, and when I think of some of the situations where other people would have said, I'm giving up, she would never do that. It would never have entered my head that any of us would say, oh well we can't be bothered having her now she's old, you know this sort of thing, there was never any question of that, with the whole family.

(Peggy, Family F)

Of course, love, duty, and reciprocity towards elderly parents, were not feelings exclusive to women. As has been seen, Archie (H) gave up his studies and returned to manage the farm for his mother after his father died. Sandy (J) thought of emigrating, and went as far as getting his papers to go to Canada. However, his sister had died, and his only brother was away in Glasgow, and he felt someone had to look after his parents:

I felt it was my duty, like. When I came home out of hospital they were good to me and barely could afford it, you know, raw eggs and rum and things like that.

(Sandy, Family J)

Sandy had got shrapnel through his lung during the Second World War, and spent over a year in specialist hospitals in Swansea and then Ghent at the end of the war. When he came home he still could not walk more than two hundred yards, and his parents had looked after him until he was fit again.

Ill health both drew people back to Beulach and kept them there. Members of Families C, E, J, K, N and Q went home to convalesce after illnesses and injuries. 'Peelie-wally'¹ children were also sometimes sent north to stay with relatives for the good of their health. From my interviews there is little evidence of people leaving the parish for health reasons, although I know from fieldwork that people did for mental health problems, and more recently, to be nearer hospitals or relatives in the south.

Interviewees' lives and choices were also structured by wider family responsibilities, in terms of keeping the Beulach household going, through work based in Beulach and money

¹ Defined by the Scots dictionary as 'sickly, feeble, pallid, thin and ill-looking'.

sent home (as has already been seen in the case of the sisters in Family A, above). As was common across Scotland before WWII (cf., Jamieson and Toynbee, 1992), young people's earnings were generally treated as family income, and handed over to parents. Those who were away sent money home and often took their holidays at the peak periods of the crofting year, so they could come home and help out:

I worked all over Scotland and parts of England. But I was always going back. Every holiday I was home. I never went anywhere else on holidays, always home. It was always in the summertime, to see the haymaking, or peat-cutting, or shearing sheep, or...you know. I always gave a hand to my parents on my holidays. I used to work harder on my holidays than I used to for the rest of the year. We would send money home when we could afford it, and then the rent would be paid, that sort of thing.

(George, Family L)

Chrissie from Family E had remained in Beulach at home for three years after she left school before going to the domestic science college in Glasgow. After college, she got a job in Glasgow:

I always took my holidays in September to help them with the hay and the corn. I came back always in September. Of course my father used to come home then. He would be working [away on fencing contracts] and he always came home and made sure he'd be at home then, and we got all the corn and everything done. But I used to kid on that I only had a fortnight. And I used to go back and have a glorious week in Glasgow before I started work there!

(Chrissie, Family E)

Seasonal employment was also still common, although perhaps not to the degree it was at the turn of the century. The father of Family F had worked away from the parish when he was a young man:

...going away for seasonal employment was the regular thing most people would do. As a young boy he went to Wick to the herring fishing, and later on, along with a lot of other people from here, he went to Glasgow, seasonally...a lot of them got work in the shipyards...and I'm sure some of them became seasonal policemen too. Working for seasons seemed to be quite an acceptable thing to employers... My father worked with the Glasgow Underground They had to be at home to do their spring work, which was the planting of the crops.

(Murdo, Family F)

Also of that generation, Willie's father (A), Chrissie's father (E) and Liza's aunt (C) worked away regularly, with their home base in Beulach.

It was not just work on the croft that affected interviewees' lives and choices. With large families and parents who had married relatively late in life, older siblings who had not actually emigrated could end up with restricted opportunities and a great deal of responsibility for their younger brothers and sisters.

When I asked my oldest informant, born in 1898, whether school was enjoyable, she said wistfully:

I liked school very much. I was in no hurry to leave it...I would have liked to go to college if I could have afforded it. But then there was no bursaries and my father was only a crofter, with six of a family. And I was unfortunate enough to be the oldest. And I never had a chance, they weren't sure that they would have money to send me away.

(Marion, Family V)

In Family F, the father was in his early forties when he married and the mother was 29. There were 14 years between the eldest of their children, Annie, and the youngest, Alec:

Our father's earning capacity was really past by the time the younger people in the family were really needing financial support. So it was a case of the older ones subsidising the younger ones. And that wasn't unusual at all in those days, you just accepted that that was part of life. We never really...thought or said anything different. Nowadays, people wouldn't settle for that I'm sure.

(Peggy, Family F)

In practice, this meant that Peggy had to give up her plan to go into the colonial civil service. She and her sister lived and worked in Glasgow instead, and supported their two youngest brothers through a college course and an apprenticeship.

Work and Life in Beulach before WWII: Not Living but Existing

Interviewees were unanimous in their opinion that only a very basic living could be made in Beulach before the war, and indeed up until the 1960s. A steady job and a small amount of cash could make significant differences to life chances and choices, as will be seen in the section on schooling, below (cf., Richling, 1985, for Newfoundland more recently).

As has already been seen, Archie (H) returned to Beulach when his father died, and shepherded for seven years for his mother until the lease ran out on the farm and she retired to Aberdeenshire, in 1933. Then he went back to college to qualify himself for a career: he did not want to take over the tenancy himself, as the price of wool and mutton had become so low. However, when he was a child, he recalls being in a position of relative affluence:

We had money, you see, there was money attached to the sheep in those days. It was a little bit different. I wouldn't like to say....they saved money, to help to educate me, for instance! But eh...there wasn't a lot. They were...slightly above the croft level I would say, in that they had cash. Many crofters hadn't cash, cash was very scarce indeed. And the pensioners were getting five shillings or something in those days.

(Archie, Family H)

Regular, steady work was a rarity in Beulach. Archie (H) recalls that in north Beulach, there was work for the postal service and work on the roads, which was contracted out to individuals who could employ others:

One Inchbost man had the contract from there to Invertulloch. So he employed some people breaking metal, you had to break metal to metal the road, so he had some people that he paid so much a cubic yard or something for breaking metal. That was a job that some of them got in the summertime, but it was nothing very much. Men went to the ghillieing and the fishing in the summer, then they went to the stalking after, and maybe some stalking in the wintertime. But that was all. Some of them went away to fish, joining the fishing fleets, but not much in my time, that was before my time when men went from here to the east coast, to the herring fishing, and spent months there and brought a few pounds home. If they didn't drink it.

(Archie, Family H)

George (L) told almost exactly the same story for inland Beulach, saying there was no year-round employment in Torbeag, and after the First World War (and indeed, up until the late 1970s), the inland community appeared to be 'dying on its feet'.

Family J lived in Fearn in the south of Beulach. When Sandy was a boy, there were ruins of five other houses nearby, plus two elderly women living in houses that are now ruined. He knows that at least two of the families from the five houses that were ruined by the time of his boyhood had emigrated. All he knows of his own family is that two of his mother's siblings emigrated to Canada, and two emigrated to Australia:

That was because there was no work, it was after the Great War and there was no work, and...more or less starvation.

(Sandy, Family J)

Many Family F men from Ardbeith also emigrated to Canada after the First World War.

For those within travelling distance of Bailemór, the Beulach estate provided some good regular employment maintaining estate property. This involved general labour and skilled trades, such as joiner and plumber. In addition to seasonal ghillieing work, the estates employed full-time gamekeepers. Willie (A) felt that he was 'really in clover' when he got a keeper's job on an inland estate:

It transformed my life you know, when I got that job. From the crofter life...from the crofter existence, I should say. 'Cause it was always just from hand to mouth.

(Willie, Family A)

Kenneth's parents ran a shop, but the whole family left Beulach in 1931, moving to Glasgow, where his father had worked before:

[there was] no money, no work. No money and no work. It was dreadful. My father used to take eggs [in the shop] as a barter system. I remember, as a wee boy, my father had...hundreds of eggs, because people would pay with eggs. Eggs were about say, sixpence a dozen. And then I would pack them in a case, I can't remember now, oh quite a lot, a long case and all the cardboard. And I would have to clean them and wash them with baking soda and a cloth, and make them nice and clean. And then, MacBrayne's steamer from Bailemór took them to Glasgow. So the eggs went to Glasgow, and Dad would get, not a lot, but he would get back roughly what he paid. People, people in this area didn't see fifty pounds of money in a year. It was with barter. They would sell you a calf, sell you a lamb, sell you eggs, sell you anything. But, to a certain degree, we could grow our own potatoes, we had our own milk, we could go out and fish for haddock, plenty fish. We survived, but we didn't have money, that's the thing. Money was lacking. If you had nothing to barter. And father and mother realised in 1931 that we should move the family.

(Kenneth, Family K)

In sum, life before the Second World War was precariously close to the breadline. Full-time year round jobs were scarce for men and virtually non-existent for women. Large scale out-migration was the norm, and the only in-migrants (with the exception of a handful of

women who came temporarily to the parish to work, fell in love and stayed) were ministers, doctors and sometimes teachers. People got by on seasonal work and pluriactivity in an almost cashless economy, but if you were lucky enough to have a regular job or one that involved cash (as the businesses of Families F, H and K did), however meagre, this could significantly improve children's prospects.

Getting Out and Getting On: Attitudes to Beulach

By this stage, commonly-held attitudes to Beulach and to migration will have started to become apparent. It is worth taking some time to look more closely at this, and draw out the various underlying themes that are sometimes in considerable tension with each other.

The first theme is articulated as lack of choice: people were 'forced' to leave Beulach as there was 'nothing there' for them. This was combined with discourses about poverty and lack of opportunity. Interviewees talk of their strong affection for Beulach and its people, and how their township was always 'home'. However, people did not in fact stay at all costs:

We were happy in Glasgow, but we never, ever thought of it as our home. And after that I was in Inverness, and I had a nice home of my own there, and I never, ever thought of it as my home, this was always our home, here...But none of us ever wanted to stay and work the croft, because by that time we realised you couldn't live really...well, our parents lived on it, but...people's needs were smaller then. And when they were both here in their later years together, with pensions, they could do quite well, they were living very comfortably. But if you wanted to make a career, it was a career in the town you would have to make.

(Peggy, Family F)

This is related to a theme of relative deprivation, which often arose in the context of discussions about both world wars. People are portrayed as becoming dissatisfied with Beulach life after a taste of or exposure to the world outside:

But after the war, things were quite different. They were different and difficult too. Transport was difficult, and people had different aims and a different perception of life after they'd been away. The same with all the young men, they'd seen what it was like really to be...although they were only in the forces, they had a regular pay even then, you know, and they came back here to nothing, absolutely nothing for the young men who came back from the forces. It was very sad.

(Peggy, Family F)

The quote above refers to the Second World War. Three interviewees also discussed the impact of the First World War in similar terms, e.g.:

You couldn't really live off a croft. You could survive. That's how crofting began because when the people came here there was nothing but the hillside with all the rocks and stones on it. In order to survive, to have a bit of food for themselves and their families, they just grew little patches of corn and potatoes and kale. After the First World War there was a big clearance. Quite a lot of people were killed in the war from this area I think. And eh...then they had seen how other people lived and felt, well, why should they be slaving away for a pittance. Just for an existence. They just got their survival off the croft.

(Lexy, Family D)

A concurrent theme is the desire for urban life in terms of careers, excitement and success. This is linked to the last theme I have identified, which is the negative evaluation of Beulach life - and in particular, the low esteem in which staying in Beulach all one's life is held. This has long roots - the rhetoric about emigration in the time of the Clearances often contains a thread of how the cream of Highland society was lost: 'those with get up and go, got up and went'. This still exists in the parish today.

When asked whether he thought his own children would return to Beulach, Murdo (F) replied:

Well, we were so programmed to going away that it didn't worry us really, unduly. There was a general feeling that it wasn't a bad thing for people to move away, and come back if they felt like it. Which ours probably will!

(Murdo, Family F)

A typical example of this last theme is that of Family M, told here by Tom (born in 1919). This vignette of pre-War work can be compared with those in the post-War section at the end of the chapter:

My birthday was on the 24th of September, and I was supposed to, by law, to finish till the quarter, which was before the Christmas holidays. But I didn't go back on the 25th. I think it was the middle of the week, too! And [the teacher], he threatened us with the school attendant officer, if we didn't...Now, my father, he was going to go to, when they were building this new road at Murach - that was just a cart track when I was young. I think he was going to start work there, on that road...I remember my father going to see the

schoolmaster. I went with him, to explain that he was given this chance of a job and it would be a shame to turn it down. And I can't remember what it was, if it was September it would be harvest, that sort of thing, and he would need somebody to...we had sheep then, and that was the major season for the sheep, they had to be looked after. So, I...entered manhood in a strange way!

When my father worked on the road, he came home only at weekends. He also had a building job at [the hydro-electric power station], but for most of his life, he was just doing bits and pieces about the place, scything and ploughing for other people. It was always little jobs. You never made a fortune. But you never starved. Not quite.

[For my mother] there was no question of keeping the family at home. It was finding jobs *outside*. Because there was nothing here...the situation today is as different as chalk from cheese to what it was in my young days...There was absolutely nothing for any young people to do here. Except, trudge away in all that - well if you want to spend your life taking creels of peat down from a hill, fair enough. But if you wanted to do something better, you had to get *out*. Ah, my mother was quite, quite determined...she agreed with that. See, life was damn grim then, you know. The work was absolutely back-breaking, and there was no way out of it. If you stayed there, you were there for life.

I was working as a labourer, on a house that was being renovated. I used to work there, it was nine in the morning till five at night, humping stones and bags of cement or whatever. Then I used to go home, and have a couple of hours scything at home afterwards. People, they don't know what it is, to live, now....It was a hard, hard life. But y'see, it was the norm. But then, there were fellas coming home from holidays from Glasgow, in the police. And they were coming home with *cars*. And new sports jackets, and all kinds of - luxuries. What d'you call them, luxuries, of wealth, dangling round them - wrist watches, and posh sports jackets. So I decided, that's a good job, yes! If I could get into that I could get myself a new jacket...

(Tom, Family M)

Tom clearly could not wait to get away from Beulach, and knew what he wanted was less hard labour and a bit more luxury. His means of escape, the police force, was one of several traditional routes away from the parish.

Getting Out and Getting On: Routes away from Beulach

Again, these routes have been illustrated through vignettes, but I will now examine them more closely across the whole sample.

Schooling

By way of introduction, the schooling system in this remote area should be briefly explained. Before WWII, there were several schools in the parish, which could be attended until the age of 14. However, if you wished to continue your schooling, you had to go to one of the east coast schools and board there. For most people, this meant you had to win one of the coveted bursaries at the age of 11 or 12. A broadcaster and writer who grew up in Harris in the 1930s explains the significance of the County Council bursary exam in the Highlands and Islands thus:

Without the bursary I would leave school at fourteen and take a job as a roadman or a weaver or a jobster of some kind till such time as I might win away to the mainland to become something sophisticated like a commercial traveller. It had been drummed into me that there was no alternative to 'going away'; to remain in my own community...was to be a failure.

(Macdonald, 1985: 15)

Common themes arose when interviewing those who went to school before the Second World War, related to the relative hardship of the school experience. Many interviewees had to walk long distances to and from the school, from an early age and in all weathers. Most mentioned the strict standards of discipline that were abused by certain teachers. Teachers had to deal with a wide age range in one class, and larger class sizes than are now standard.

Even if a child won one of the limited number of bursaries, it could still be hard for parents to let him or her go, as they would require clothing and money for their lodgings, and of course they would not be earning anything or working for their keep:

My father would have liked to have gone [and studied] but couldn't afford it. He always said he would have liked to have been a marine engineer, but his father needed him to earn money, go to lobster fishing, and all that, so he never got a chance.

(Katharine, Family T)

Both Katharine and her sister went to schools on the east coast, and then on to Jordanhill teacher training college in Glasgow. While there, they received bursaries, but these only covered half the costs, and their parents had to struggle to meet the rest.

The children of Families B, G and J left parish schools at fourteen, and said this was the common experience, as most could not afford to go to east coast schools.

Sandy (J) left school at 14 as his parents were not well off and needed him to work, to supplement the croft and lobster fishing. He said that people who were better off sent their children to high school on the east coast. His wife Fiona, who was also born and brought up in Beulach, was one of seven children. In her family, going on to an east coast school was never considered:

Well, there was quite a lot went but...to go to [east coast school] you needed clothes and you needed money, and in our family it was a case of you'd one outfit for school and it came off you when you got home and washed and back on you the next day. Until it got too short and was at your bum and you couldn't wear it any more! If you were at [east coast school], you would get your lodgings but you'd need pocket money, and there was no way...so no, none of us went away to school.

(Fiona, wife of Sandy, Family J)

Many people mentioned that the education system meant that you got used to being away from the parish at an early age:

...you were away from term to term. It's only 32 miles from here to [east coast school], but it seemed..a foreign land, you know? Aye. It didn't bother me, though. It was not a case of being forced to go. Of course my sister was there before me. She's two years older than me, and she was in [east coast school], and I went into the same digs. You always went to lodgings with people who knew your parents or whatever, you know. It was all found somehow, I couldn't tell you how they were paid for, the lodgings. Pocket money was non-existent. You'd get the odd half-crown now and again or something like that. And you stayed there from term to term. Well, you used to get home in October for the tattie lifting holidays. But it was only a weekend, you weren't getting a week then. I think they get a fortnight nowadays, but then it was just a long weekend. And you had to arrange your own transport home and your own transport back. There was not a thing.

(George, Family L)

Going away to school at the age of 11 or 12 was simply something that had to be accepted, if you were to 'get on':

My folks encouraged me to go. They wanted me, you know, to get a good education. I was there for the six years. Then I went to university, in Glasgow. I went to Glasgow because I knew people there. I didn't want to go actually, but the headmaster, I happened to be quite good at Latin, and Latin was his subject, and I suppose because he was the Head I paid attention and did what I had to do...but...he thought I should go to university and get a degree...and he more or less marked out my career for me. I got a bursary, £25 a year! It wouldn't pay the digs. We managed, my folks managed to keep me going. I wasn't well off, you know, but I survived.

(Lexy, Family D)

All of the children in family F apart from the eldest (who was an invalid for about a year) went to school on the east coast. They recognise that this was quite unusual as most people could not afford to send so many children. Their mother, a resourceful and energetic woman, started running a boarding house for summer visitors during the 1920s, which gave the family more money.

Members of families F, H and L were amongst those who said that they felt they had really left Beulach at the age of twelve. They said that at first you were homesick, and then you got used to being away from Beulach, and it was not nearly such a wrench to leave the area to find work. This is again echoed by Macdonald:

From that August day onward it would be from the outside that I would see the village ageing...And that is how it has been. It has always been as a visitor that I have returned...and, increasingly, as a stranger. My parents must have realised that. They must have known that only failure (in terms of the island philosophy of the time) would bring me back to a life in the village. I had 'done my homework'...I had learnt 'to talk English'...I had 'won the bursary'...I had done all the things that would launch me for far shores.

(1985: 105).

In Family P, Annie's father had left school young and joined the Merchant Navy, and worked his way up by studying for the qualifications. He was very keen on education and pushed his three children to stay on at school and go on to higher education. Annie remembers an old man saying, why bother with the girl? Her father replied that she might

marry, but she might not, or she might be widowed, so she should be educated enough to get a job to provide for herself. Annie remembers resenting being pushed to study when her friends were going to be hairdressers or nurses, but then later realised she enjoyed it. She did Latin at Edinburgh University, as her elder brother was already there working as a doctor.

The cultural and material capital starting from the age of 11, when the decision to go on to east coast schools or not was taken, had a knock-on effect throughout interviewees' lives. This was in terms of the types of jobs they took and the amount they earned, and their ability to afford to make certain choices (such as retiring to Beulach and building a new house). Those who went away to school are more inclined to emphasise 'sameness' - some recognise that their family had a bit more cash, but in all cases struggle and sacrifice for education is stressed. Those who simply could not afford to go have a more straightforward perception that those who went to school were those who were better off. Money, as elsewhere at the time, was crucial in schooling: small numbers of children or better earnings meant opportunity - outside Beulach. In the words of Archie (H), 'if you were educated, you went'. However, it is not the case that only those who left made money: e.g., Andrew (G), as a skipper of a boat in the boom period of the fishing industry, was financially far more successful than anyone qualifying as a primary school teacher could ever hope of being.

As was mentioned in Chapter Three, I would estimate that my interview data potentially over-represents women who had been away, who were probably the relatively well-educated. Certainly, one woman I knew who had lived all her life in Beulach and did not wish to be interviewed, had left school at 13 to nurse her mother. Of the five 'core' women I interviewed who started school in the parish (Families C, D, E, F and O), four went on to east coast schools, two of whom went on to college. Only one left a Beulach school (in 1934) at the age of 14 - interestingly, the 'honorary boy', Chrissie. Her older sister Morag had continued her schooling but:

[our parents] couldn't afford to put everybody to the higher grade...and I was too useful at home! She was the one that got the education.

(Chrissie, Family E)

Of the supplementary informants, Marion (V) remained at school until she was 16, and three other women I interviewed (R, S, T) had primary school teaching qualifications.

Of the men, only Archie (H) the shepherd/manager's son went on to college. Four others completed school on the east coast, and five left Beulach schools at the age of 14, all to help the family economy by working on the croft or for pay.

It is still a fairly frequently expressed opinion in Beulach that girls have more 'get up and go'. This would seem to arise out of necessity: more work is available for men, albeit irregular and ill-recompensed. This was recognised by some interviewees, e.g.:

people always went, you know, to the cities, for the same reason as we all did.
Just not enough work here. Especially the womenfolk, I think, more than the men.

(Hugh, Family B)

For most women, unless they married a male crofter, looked after parents, or were in the unusual position of inheriting the croft, there was simply next to no work available, so other avenues had to be sought: going into service for the unqualified, nursing or teaching for others. Teaching also was and still is a route back to Beulach as one of the few good and secure year-round jobs. These gendered routes away are discussed in more detail after the next section on the experience and effects of war.

War

The impact of both world wars on people's lives and attitudes has already been mentioned. War in general was part of the common experience: e.g., in Family D, Lexy's great-grandfather was wounded in Spain in 1791, her uncle was wounded in the First World War, the fiancé of the aunt who brought her up was killed in that war, and Lexy's son Jimmy was in the RAF. In the twentieth century, war and national service gave people a 'taste' of life outside Beulach, although some interviewees had already left by the time they joined up (e.g., the older siblings in Families F, M and R). Many of my interviewees' lives were directly affected by the war. This could take the form of constraint, in the form of severe injuries as experienced by Sandy (J), or forced changes of plan:

...the war just spoilt everything, really spoilt everything as far as...you know, your plans and your hopes were concerned, because you just had to do what was best at the time, it changed everything. I went on to University in Glasgow when I was 18, but unless you were more than half way through your course and going in for teaching and medicine, you had to be called up when your age group came in, called up to the forces. And, I was caught up in that and by the time I came out of the forces, well, there were younger brothers in the pipeline and...I just went into the civil service.

(Peggy, Family F)

However, war was also a time of opportunity for many. The First World War gave Willie (A) his entry to a steady job in Beulach, and gave his sisters work in munitions factories in Glasgow. Eilidh (Q) and Catriona (O) saw the start of the Second World War as adventure, and by joining up got a chance to use their intelligence and develop skills that would never have been possible in Beulach. Likewise, Una from Family F became a nurse in the war, and continued nursing afterwards.

The Second World War brought some people to Beulach. At the beginning of the war, school rolls were swollen by the children of Beulach parents who had moved away for work. These children were 'evacuated' by their parents in Greenock, Renfrew, etc., back to grandparents and aunts in Beulach. Most went away before the war ended as they were not eligible for help with digs in the east coast secondary schools, because their permanent addresses were in the south. However, some (such as Family P) formed lasting ties and returned to Beulach as adults.

In general, though, wars drained people away from the area. Young people left and did not return, often, like Willie's brothers in Family A, meeting and marrying someone elsewhere. Rhudach, according to Eilidh (Q), was 'devastated' by the Second World War, as there was no post-war regeneration through the development of fishing, as happened in Beulach to the north.

War was a route away for both men and women. Most such routes away, however, were heavily gendered. I will now look at these, for men and for women.

Men

The police force was a common route away from the Highlands, not exclusively for men (Margaret from Family P was in the force) but largely so. As has been seen above, Murdo (F) thought that in his father's time it was possible to be a 'seasonal policeman', working in Glasgow and returning to the croft when the agricultural cycle demanded. Andrew's father (G) was a policeman, stationed around the Highlands, and several of Andrew's siblings joined the police force. Kenneth's father (K) and younger brother were also in the police, as was Roddy's brother (N). Liza's grandfather (C) was a policeman from Islay who met and married her Beulach grandmother in Glasgow. Tom (M) knew from as soon as he left school that he wanted to leave Beulach, but at 14 he was not old enough. He had thought he would join the army or the navy, but was tempted into the police force by the 'conspicuous wealth' of other young Beulach men who had joined the police.

The Merchant Navy, also a major employer of men in the Highlands and Islands, was not by any means always a route away: many merchant seamen in the past (and now, although there are far fewer of them) kept the township of their birth as their home base, returning there in periods of leave. However, some, like the four uncles of Family B interviewees, left ship and stayed in the south or abroad.

The Merchant Navy is present in the choices of all generations in my interviews: Annie's father (P); Catriona's brother (O); the youngest Mackenzie brother, Alec (F); and Chrissie's son (E).

Apprenticeships were another route out, leading to relatively well paid work. As has been seen, there were limited local opportunities to learn a trade, at the estate in Bailemór. By the time of my interviewees' lives, it was only possible to be an apprentice joiner or possibly plumber (although the Sutherlands (Q) seem to have had a monopoly on this). Lexy's uncle (D) was an estate joiner. Two brothers in Family F left to do apprenticeships (as stonemason and electrician); as did George (L), who became a joiner, and Catriona's brother (O), who was a shipyard engineer. Davey from Family B also became an electrician, but had left Beulach prior to taking up the trade. I was told by another man, while he was on a brief return visit to Beulach, that when he left school in the late 1940s, there was absolutely no work available in the area. He reiterated what I had been told by, e.g., Families F and M:

you either had to be a crofter or go elsewhere for a career. He said that so many went to Glasgow as there were a lot of apprenticeships available there - recruiters used to come round the Highland schools. He himself went to do engineering, straight from an east coast school to Glasgow, where he was an apprentice and attended night school for three years. He knew he would not return, but he does come back regularly on holidays, and one of his younger brothers still lives in Beulach.

Women

In the generation of my interviewees' parents, 'going into service' was an extremely common pattern for women. From the mid-19th to the early 20th century, between a fifth and a quarter of Scottish women officially recorded as in employment were domestic servants. 'Going into service' became stigmatised in urban areas in the 20th century, but was still the only option for many rural young women, and as such was viewed in a matter of fact way (Jamieson, 1990). This was true across the Highlands and Islands, and as has been seen above, women in service contributed to household economies back home: and even to the houses themselves, as Macdonald notes of the white houses on Harris:

They owed nothing to the land, those houses; they had been built with money from fishing or, most usually, with money sent home by sailor sons, and daughters in service in the mansions of the mainland cities. It was no shame to be in service. Far from it. Those girls, like their sailor brothers, were repaying their debt to ageing parents to whom some would, themselves, return one day with some of the city's sophistication showing in their manners and their clothes and their luggage. They wouldn't all come back, of course. Many of the girls, in particular, would marry city husbands and swell the Highland coteries of Glasgow and Edinburgh and London: each one who did return would marry, not too late in life, a man from home and rear a family into which she would instil a longing for the bright lights.

(1985: 108)

This was exactly what Tom's mother (M) had done. In many cases, such as Families B and M, I was told that nearly all female forebears had gone into service in the Central Belt of Scotland. This stretched back for generations: Liza (C) was born in 1910, and her aunts and great-aunts had gone to Glasgow to work as servants. By my interviewees' generation, it was less common, although George's sister (L) went into service. The only family where

every girl had left Beulach and gone into service was A, where my interviewee (born in 1904) was older than many of the sample, and had five older sisters. However, it was clearly still quite common in the first part of the twentieth century, as Kenneth (born in 1913) explained to me:

Now, why mother had a maid was because girls were going away to domestic service in Glasgow and Edinburgh, and they were also going to nursing and so on. And a family in Riach, or Glac, or Clach, would send a young girl of say, 14, 15, for a year, and my mother would show them how to make a bed, or show them how to set a table, and so on. So. We had a maid. *Not* because we were snobbish or, upper...but, Mother was trying - [to help]

(Kenneth, Family K)

Hotel work was also common for women, and often done on a seasonal basis where the home was still in Beulach, and returned to and left cyclically. Family I ran a Beulach hotel, so the son as well as the daughters went elsewhere for training and work experience, and then returned. Daughters from Families E, L and O worked in hotels, as did the older generation of Family C: Liza's Aunt Flora had worked away in hotels every summertime when she was younger, and the money she brought home was spent in buying food - a boll of meal, a boll of flour, and a boll of barley meal, to last over the winter.

Nursing was also extremely common, but seems to have been particularly so in the slightly more affluent families such as F and K. Chrissie (E) had wanted to be a nurse, but left school at 14 to help with the croft and household. Nursing also ran in families, e.g., Family N.

As has been discussed already, primary school teaching was the typical career for a woman who had completed school and gone to university or teacher training college. This was true in six families (C, N, P, R, S, T.). The exception was Family F, where one daughter became a nurse, and two went into the civil service.

Nursing, teaching, service and hotel work were also routes into Beulach. This was true of native-born women who returned when vacancies became available and elderly relatives needed caring for (D, O), and for in-marrying women (Willie's wife (A); Helen (N); Nancy (U); Andrew's wife (G)).

Returning, Staying, Leaving: Motives and Opportunities

A wide range of feelings was expressed about living in Beulach, from those who were contented in Beulach and preferred living there to elsewhere; to those who had enjoyed living in Beulach and living elsewhere; to those who definitely preferred elsewhere.

Three couples (A, N, U) where the wife was non-local described themselves as having been quite happy in Beulach, valuing the independence and privacy of their houses and lives, and said they had never considered a permanent move elsewhere. Likewise, Marion (V) and Family W had never wanted to leave. Most were more ambivalent. Sandy (J) nearly emigrated, and most who did go away for a while made clear at some point during the interview that their decision to return or stay away could have swung either way quite easily. Lexy (D), Chrissie (E), Ella (S), Andrew (G), Johnny (I) and Family F members all came back to Beulach but had enjoyed living elsewhere. Johnny (I) nearly stayed in the London hotel business, Lexy (D) came back through chance and circumstance, and Chrissie (E) returned after a prolonged bout of ill health:

Oh aye, I loved Glasgow, I really did when I was living in it. But I wouldn't go back to it today. It's enough for me to go for a long weekend to Glasgow! We usually go in November for a long weekend.

(Chrissie, Family E)

The feeling that Beulach was home despite long years spent happily elsewhere was not exclusive to Peggy (F, above). It was echoed by George:

I worked all over Scotland and parts of England. But I was always going back. Every holiday I was home. I never went anywhere else on holidays, always home...och, I never decided to stay anywhere else. I was always going to come back. And every time I was coming home on holidays, *home*. No matter where I was. I lived in Glenrothes, I had a house in Glenrothes for four years, but I never ever intended to stay in a city, or a town even. I was always coming back to Torbeag.

(George, Family L)

Interviewees sometimes struggled to articulate a reason for their return. Kenneth (K) said at first that the only thing he had missed about Beulach between 1931 and 1978 was the trout

fishing. When I pressed him to explain why it was, then, that he had bothered to make a permanent return, he said:

And, I just felt, in Glasgow, I was forecasting, working hard, no computers, my brain was the computer. I had to - fifteen dealers, some sold a hundred cars, some sold two and three hundred, I had to work it all out six months in advance, and my 'computer' was working overtime. And I said, if God spares me to live to 65, I'll not stay in Glasgow and go to the bowling green and pub or something.

(Kenneth, Family K)

Likewise, Archie (H) had no clear reason for return: he laughed and said it was like salmon coming back to the river they had been born in.

There were, of course, also those who did not ever return or plan to. It is interesting to look at what they have to say about life in Beulach.

Liza (C) clearly regarded Beulach and her relatives there with great affection, but also missed her immediate family in Glasgow, and loved the city. When she married there, it became her home, although for the remainder of her life she has continued to visit Beulach regularly. Her daughter now lives in the parish. Liza says:

oh, I wouldn't [live in Beulach] now, although [my daughter] was saying...see, when I come up here, the people that I know, and the way of living is quite different to what it was. A lot for the better, mind, I'm not condemning it, but...where I am, I've got lots of friends and there's always somebody popping in. Who would 'pop up' here to see me?

(Liza, Family C)

In Family B, one of the sisters came back to the parish. When I asked Hugh and Davey whether they would have stayed if they could, they ended up arguing about it. Davey at first maintained he had not wanted to leave, but ended by agreeing with Hugh that even if he had not gone to do National Service, he probably would have left eventually:

...because the croft couldn't sustain a family. You were only allowed a maximum of 30 sheep on the croft, and there was no steady employment available except working for the county council on the roads. There was no fishing industry as there is now.[...]I wouldn't come back now. I've been married for 42 years and all our friends and my wife's relations are in Glasgow.

To be quite honest, I don't think I could settle [in Beulach]. I love to come up, I really do, but there's less and less people now to see. You know. Everybody's getting a stranger here, you know.

(Davey, Family B)

Hugh, who lives in the States, says he and his wife have often talked about it and thought they would like to return, but have got used to a far kinder climate.

Andrew's brother Donnie (G) maintained that he would never go back to Beulach:

It was a man's country, there was no use, to take a wife up there, unless she belonged to the place. See, normally, town women, they want to go to the hairdressers once a week. Or something. And they want to see, shops and...you know? Well you can't do that in Bailemór. So he, that's what he said, he said 'it's a man's country'.

(Tom, Family M)

Donnie did in fact go back to Beulach and became an active local councillor. Tom (M), however, never considered it:

oh heavens, no! No. I never, once I left it, wild horses wouldn't drag me up there. No way. No, I couldn't, I couldn't...stomach it. It was such a monotonous...there didn't seem to be, I used to get around a bit [in Inverness], well we had quite a wide circle of friends, and we used to entertain, and were entertained. We had, you know, we had quite a nice social life [in Inverness]. Which we would never have had up there. Really. And, we both liked that kind of life. I've never regretted it, I wouldn't leave Inverness for anything.

(Tom, Family M)

However, even Tom admitted that he often wonders what would have happened if he had stayed, because he thinks Bailemór was 'just beginning to develop' when he left. There was more employment on the estate, such as the rebuilding of the Bailemór Hotel. There was also the beginning of grants and subsidies from the Board of Agriculture. After the war, the fishing industry took off, and electricity and running water were installed throughout the parish:

So all those things combined, to make, to make it possible to do more. Y'see, if you have water and power, there's a lot you can do. Well, you can look after more stock, you can clip them by electric clipper and that sort of thing.

(Tom, Family M)

Of the people who did return, Archie (H) got a Land Court job that brought him back to the Scottish Highlands, and then retired to Inchbost; Murdo (F) and Ella (S) got the chance of a job, as did Lexy (D), coupled with her elderly relatives needing care; Andrew (G) and Johnny (I) returned for family reasons and stayed when they married and got involved in local businesses. Peggy (F) and Annie (R) returned to get married, and Chrissie (E), Eilidh (Q) and Sandy (J) returned because of their own ill health, and then developed emotional and employment ties. However, it should not be forgotten that these are people's presentations of themselves: their stated, 'on the record' reasons for what has happened in their lives. From my wider knowledge of these people, I would estimate that in at least four cases, factors such as mental and marital breakdown and alcoholism played a part.

It can be seen that even among those most articulate about their love for Beulach, there was an element of chance or compulsion in the fact that they went back (apart, perhaps, from those who retired - although again, family position and inheriting gave them that chance). People definitely did not stay in Beulach at all costs, although many took curtailed careers or lower wages to come back. Most had health/family reasons to return. These were the crucial *motives*, but to return or stay, the *opportunity* had to be there.

Work in Beulach after WWII

I have argued above that a combination of personal motivations (to do with health and primary relationships) and employment opportunities, led to return. Opportunity increased from the 1960s onwards. The development of fishing and tourism meant more employment locally, often still with a seasonal emphasis, but year round too (e.g., the multinational boats, the knitwear factory). As population stabilised, this had a knock-on effect on employment, as more services were required, e.g., community care, teaching, etc.

I wish now to substantiate this with two final vignettes before concluding this chapter. These vignettes can be compared with the pre-WWII experience of work in Beulach, and show in detail how circumstances came together for individuals in such a way as to result in them returning to Beulach and making an income sufficient to stay. The narratives show the specifics of earning a living in Beulach, highlighting the ongoing emphasis on pluriactivity and seasonality. The first is constructed from the unrecorded accounts of two

of the people involved, and the second narrative, which is in the first person, is from the transcript of a taped interview.

The Sutherlands (Q) and the Mackenzies (F)

Eilidh is from Rhudach and met her husband at a Bailemór dance after the Second World War. He was the plumber for the Beulach Estate. Eilidh worked for 17 years in the village hall tearoom. She started it with Shona (Murdo Mackenzie's wife): 'she was new in the village too'. Murdo had returned to Bailemór with Shona in the 1950s. He gave up a civil service post in Glasgow when the position of clerk to the local council and social welfare officer came up in Beulach. This meant a substantial drop in salary, but they decided to take it. He worked at that until 1966, and then did lobster fishing and was a Commissioner for the Crofters Commission (a part-time job that fitted in well with the fishing). He worked for the Crofters Commission until 1986, and changed from lobster fishing to a passenger boat and then sea angling.

His wife Shona and Eilidh got the idea for the tearoom when two old ladies stopped and asked them where they could get a cup of tea, and they realised there was nowhere in the village that they could go. They started in the old village hall in the late 1950s, and moved into the new hall when it was built in 1967. At the beginning they ordered only half a dozen cups and saucers as they thought that was all they would need. The hall sat 65 people and they often had queues out of the door. They charged two-and-six, and later five shillings, for a tea, which was fish, brown or white bread, tea, two scones and two pancakes, with butter and jam.

In the late '50s and early '60s, the tourists all came to the tea room for food as there was no self-catering accommodation like there is now. Shona and Eilidh were the first people in the village to get ice cream - a huge container of Walls ice cream which came on the post bus. They had said they were getting it, and the village children met the bus at the post office and followed it to the hall. All the ice cream, which they had thought would last for days, was eaten in two hours.

Angus and Murdo took turns week about filleting for the tea room. When the tearoom started making money, the men rebelled and told Shona and Eilidh they could pay someone to do it. They hired Sandy, a man from near Aberdeen who was working at the Bailemór Fish Selling company. Eilidh started work about 5.30am, and Sandy came with a box of fillets (weighing seven stone) at 6am. Eilidh worked until about 8pm. This was from April, sometime before Easter, until the last day of September, with only Sundays off. Angus and Eilidh often had visitors in the summertime and she would sit in the sitting room at nights with their faces swimming back and forwards in front of her, until about 1.30am when she would have to say, you can stay as long as you like, but I'm off to my bed.

In the tearoom, they had young girls waiting on the tables and helping in the kitchen. Angus retired at the age of 75, so Eilidh gave up the tea room as she felt she couldn't leave him sitting at home on his own. Shona didn't want to do it with someone else, so it closed.

The MacAskills (E)

Chrissie met her husband, Alec, in Glasgow where they were both working. After prolonged ill health, she was advised to move out of the city, so they went back to his family home on Mull:

And we were there for about two years, but there was no work in Mull, the farm wasn't paying. So we came up here because the Hydro scheme was on here, just starting. So we came up here in 1952 and this croft was vacant and we got it. And my husband got work on the Hydro poles and we stayed with my mother, part of the time, and then we got a house up at Clach and we rented it, and then we came down to a rented house in Achmore, and then we built this house in 1959/60. And my husband by this time got a job with the County [Council], working on the roads, and he kept that right through till he retired. Regular pay. And I did 'dinner, bed and breakfast' when I got this house. And I was a home help to an old man over there. And we had cows. And hens. I stopped being a home help, the two people I was being home help to died. And then we got rid of the cows. And I opened a shop, in 1971. And we started letting the house out. We put up this extension and we started letting the house and we opened the shop. And we had the shop for about six or seven years. It was great fun while it lasted.

At the start of our shop there was a lot of campers. My son-in-law, my daughter's husband, has it on a ciné camera, the queues here on a Monday, waiting to get served in the shop, was past that gate. But that was the boom years of the campers. The early '70s. People would be up here in May, but what I'm talking about is the children's holidays in July and August. There was hundreds of people up here. But then of course they all started going abroad. It started going, I would say 1975, '76, and I gave up the shop in 1981. It wasn't paying.

I had a lot of irons in the fire. I was letting this house. I had caravans, by this time I had bought a couple of caravans, I was letting them. And I had a school contract [as a driver], taking children to school. Right round for the Clach school, from the lighthouse, Glac, Camasmuran, Pollan, Achmore and Clach. And...for a long time I had a backward child from Bailemór coming down to Clach [school] so I did that as well. And I did my own round, I used to go straight off to Bailemór and get John, and I used to put John home at half past two and then come straight back to do my other run. Then John got too old for the [Clach] school and he went to another school and I took on...the cook from the school retired and they couldn't get...well, they got cooks but they never stayed. So then they decided they'd be as cheap getting their meals from the canteen in Bailemór. So I had that run to do. And serve the meal when I got back to Clach, do all the washing up. Came home here...and...then, the cleaner left. So they twisted my arm to do the cleaning till they would get a cleaner, but they never got a cleaner and I did it till I retired!

I have now a campsite. On our own croft, we used to have some tents, but my husband used to do that and the other campsite was Highland Region had it and they had a warden there. And my husband did our own site. But our campers used the Region's toilets and we paid so much for them a year. So I had nothing to do with the campers then, but after I retired, the man next door to me, he lives in Forres, he owns the croft. He and I went in partner [after her husband went into a nursing home], and when the Region [campsite] closed...and for a while we had the Region toilets and we paid them a rent and I kept it all going when I retired from everything else. [...] Then they put up public toilets there, the recreation people. So we started on our own then, Frank and I. We put up, well, we didn't, we rented those toilets. But I don't know for how long because it's really not paying because the toilets are so expensive. We're paying £49 a week for each block. So I don't think they'll be on for very much longer. Because I don't think we're going to cut even this year. There's not so many people staying in tents...we'll see what July and August takes but...you see it's cheaper for [people] to go abroad. But there it is.

If there was anything to do, my son Murdo would come back here tomorrow. He likes Achmore. My daughter Katy's quite settled on the east coast, she loves it there. So...I'm negotiating just now, I'm getting the house decrofted from the croft so they're both...you see actually this house can be made into two, because we've got this extension, and there's two bedrooms in the bungalow, which can be cut in two, with two bedrooms in the bungalow and two bedrooms here. So I'm in the throes of doing that and putting their name to it so they can have a house each here whatever else they'll have. And Katy doesn't want the croft so Murdo will get the croft, there's only one can get the croft.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that a life course focus on local people does indeed show how local and extra-local social ties are biographically combined, through migration, employment, marital and other kin links. Moreover, the collection of life histories is a method which results in rich and varied data, the flavour of which I hope has come across in the course of the chapter.

As has been documented elsewhere, in Beulach, '100% real locals' are not the norm, and neither is staying in the parish all your life. My findings add to the literature the evidence that this was also the case in the past. Elderly interviewees frequently had non-local forebears, although in the 19th and early 20th centuries, these were most commonly from other rural upland areas of Scotland.

Hence, migration was seen as natural and logical by interviewees, particularly in the straitened economic circumstances of the mid-20th century. Elderly people's accounts exhibit how their lives were affected by complex blends of chance, choice and constraint. Factors such as gender and socio-economic status were highly significant.

People often felt they *had* to leave Beulach, yet it was also clear that parents and teachers encouraged those who could to 'get on' by going away. Being successful usually involved leaving the area, at least for a while, so although Beulach was mostly spoken of affectionately, remaining there was regarded with ambivalence. This is an attitude which has persisted until the present day, as will be seen in the following chapter.

While away from the parish, people maintained their ties: sending back money; returning during holidays to help out on the croft; returning periodically to care for elderly relatives or to convalesce themselves.

From the late 1950s, rising standards of living, in terms of the provision of power and water supplies, improvements in roads and housing, and new employment opportunities, made returning to or staying in Beulach a more feasible and attractive alternative for interviewees and their children. These factors have also made Beulach an appealing prospect for those without local kin ties - resulting in the in-migration which is examined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

Belonging and In-Migration

Introduction

In-migration has been touched on in Chapter Five, as many interviewees had family members who came from outside Beulach. That chapter, however, deals almost exclusively with elderly people who have been long-term residents of the parish, and mostly considered as locals.

This chapter encompasses discussion of the more obvious in-migration of recent years: the type of in-migrant more likely to be termed an incomer or even 'white settler'. These in-migrants are not the exclusive focus of the chapter, as I also wish to discuss more broadly the issues of belonging and localness; and the ways in which my research furthers the understanding and theorising of these issues.

I have begun the chapter with an excerpt from one of my interviews, where the respondent was explaining to me how her township and the parish in general had changed over the years, as this introduces many of the recurring themes. I go on to examine the relevant literature before reiterating the demographic context for the subsequent discussion. I have chosen to focus upon three particular areas as they offer the most apposite data: housing; participation in voluntary organisations; and local/incomer identity and conflict.

Data from my research is presented in two ways: firstly, details of particular cases, e.g., conflicts which illustrate aspects of the theoretical discussion; and secondly, in the form of vignettes (cf., Finch, 1987; Stacey, 1960).

The vignettes provide an ideal type of different characteristic patterns of in-migration. Most are a composite of several actual people with similar experiences, 'blurred' together with some crucial details changed. For example, 'Jim and Polly Blackford' are based on four incomer couples; and Karen and Matthew Jones are based largely on two couples with elements of a third. In each case, their sort of story is representative of a larger number of people, but the ideal type is constructed round the actual people that I had most detailed knowledge about.

I have used this method to preserve confidentiality, and hopefully prevent anyone reading them from incorrectly identifying the whole story as being that of one of the source subjects.

I felt this was important as the life history data was drawn from people who had been explicitly told that I would be using it for my research, unlike the in-migrant data which is from my fieldnotes. Some of it is information I got in response to expressing an interest in why people move to Beulach; but some comes from conversations with people who may not have realised, or may have forgotten, that the subject matter was of academic interest to me. Furthermore, the life histories often deal with past events and people who are now dead, while this chapter involves the current population of Beulach.

The vignettes are followed by a discussion drawing out the significance of factors such as gender and class. The chapter then concludes with a section drawing together the main themes covered.

Dolly's Narrative

There were no houses for sale, as such, here, for years and years and years. Because there were a lot of older people, they seemed to go on forever, you know, the older people, they lived to a good age, and the estate didn't...I don't think the estate were ever very keen on giving bits of land to people...And the crofts, the houses, there was always somebody away from home who wanted to hold on to the house. It just all depended on whether the croft houses were occupied and if they had relatives who, quite naturally, wanted to hold on to them, that they would come back when they retired. It all depended on that. But there really was no movement about building in the days when...And then the grants for doing up houses and building houses improved, provided it was on a croft. If a person, couple, got a croft, they could then build a house on it or build up the ruin, you were only allowed one house on it, but...that's all changed now of course, houses go on the market and they're so expensive the local people can't buy them. But...while a lot of people say it's dreadful, there's hardly any local people, it's all strangers that you see in Bailemór in the store now, if somebody hadn't come, the place would be derelict, there'd be nothing. [...] ['Telecrofting'], that would really be the salvation of the place, if they did that, because it would mean that, well all the kids now are computer-orientated, and a lot of them, that's what they'll go on to do. But if they had connections here in their youth, I think a lot of them would jump at the chance of doing that. 'Cause many of them, it's kind of a nostalgic thing because they've come and had lovely holidays all their youth, although they were brought up in the towns, they had aunties and grannies and things in the country, and they have very happy memories of it, and the thought that they could earn a living in it would change the whole thing, whereas this last fifty years it was just out of the question, you couldn't.

Theorising Belonging

As Crow and Allan (1995b) point out, sociological accounts of community divisions and conflicts have a long history of positing a dichotomous opposition between 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. The exact terminology varies from study to study (and from community to community) but it has appeared that everywhere there are those who belong and those who do not. 'Belonging' has typically been related to length of residence in a locality, often combined with ancestral links.

This insider/outsider distinction is found in many classic community studies (e.g., Frankenberg, 1957; Williams, 1956, 1963; Elias and Scotson, 1965/1994; Stacey, 1960). The clear-cut distinction is perhaps easier to maintain in distinctly bounded locations such as islands (e.g., Forsythe, 1980; Cohen, 1987; Bennett, 1990). However, most recent research has moved away from the starkly dichotomous view.

Phillips (1986) states that in Muker parish, North Yorkshire, the cultural boundary between locals and incomers is flexible, with several different markers of identity: kinship; dialect; involvement in farming; and length of residence. When Muker residents are representing themselves to the outside world, they use a local/incomer dichotomy. However, amongst themselves, residents are portrayed in more qualified ways, along a scale of localness: including 'a local now', in reference to a long-standing incomer.

This is typical of more recent research (cf., Gilligan, 1987) which has moved towards an understanding of insider and outsider as the black and white extremes at either end of a continuum, with many shades of grey in between. This concept of a continuum has had the effect of introducing a temporal dimension to theories of belonging. Crow and Allan (1995b) note in their survey of the literature that attempts to place a figure on the amount of time it takes to move along the continuum from outsider to insider vary considerably from study to study. For example, the 'time horizons' before becoming accepted as local were respectively two generations and over fifteen years in two Welsh studies, and ten years in a London study (Crow and Allan, 1995: 2). It is clear in Beulach that, over time, people do become seen as 'belonging'. There is also a fairly typical career of gradual in-migration, shown in Table Five.

TABLE 5: THE DYNAMICS OF IN-MIGRATION - TWO EXAMPLES

Tourist →	Summer Visitor →	Second Home Owner →	Full-Time Resident
Edward's parents 'took a lodge' in the area from the turn of the century until the outbreak of WWI	Edward married Louisa in 1941. After the war and the birth of their two eldest sons, they began spending summers staying in Beulach hotels, angling and hill-walking.	By the early 1960s, they had five children. They decided to buy a substantial tract of land and build a house on it, which they stayed in during the summers from 1964.	Edward and Louisa retired to their Beulach house in 1980. In 1985, Edward died, and their eldest daughter Jane moved to Beulach to live with her mother. The other children (and grandchildren) continue to spend summers there
Susan went on holiday to Beulach just before WWII	From 1950 onwards, she returned with her husband and son Richard every summer	Richard bought a semi-detached cottage with his girlfriend Pam in 1970, renovated it and stayed there a few times per year	Richard and Pam's daughter Judith came to live in the cottage in 1990, getting a job in the knitwear factory and marrying Joe (who was born in Beulach to non-local parents)

From the literature and my own fieldwork, I would argue that it is likely to take less time to become an 'insider' in communities where there has been considerable in-migration (and see Connerton's (1989) theory of the significance of shared knowledge for collective community identity, discussed in Chapter Seven). Where there are lots of incomers, someone who has been a resident for only five years will seem relatively local. This can be seen in Chapter Five, which showed how those who have lived in Beulach for a shorter period of time (including young people born in the parish) will assume the localness of others they do not know well. This is particularly the case if they have a Highland accent or other characteristics that would seem to fit them to an ideal type 'real old local', e.g., crofting, or regular attendance at the Free Church. People who had lived in Beulach as long as twenty or thirty years sometimes mistakenly assumed those in their 70s and 80s came from Beulach and had always lived there.

Crow and Allan (1995a) note three ambiguous 'insider-outsider' statuses: those who marry in; those who are from the community but no longer live there ('exiles'); and those who work locally but live elsewhere. Mewett (1982) and Parman (1990) also discuss the way in which out-migrants still belong and are part of the gossip network, retaining a social presence despite their physical absence. Wight (1993) found in Cauldmoss that you could achieve the status of 'honorary local' if you married a villager. Likewise, Harris (1974, discussed by Strathern, 1982) found that marriage in might mean inclusion in 'real Hennage people', as the Hennage definition of villager potentially encompassed all people who participated in local life.

From my own research, I would add another significant ambiguous category: the young person who is not 'really' from Beulach but has no claim of belonging elsewhere. This is arguably the relatively recent effect of the counter-urbanisation trend marked in the early 1970s. If you came to Beulach as a small child, it is the only place you know, but your whole family may still seem very non-local. This has also been argued for the Scottish Borders by Jones (mimeo), who concludes that "meeting time criteria does not automatically lead to acceptance as a local".

The literature rarely even mentions the possibility of moving the opposite way along the continuum - can you ever become an outsider? under what circumstances? The limited exceptions to this are Bennett (1990: 48), and Jamieson *et al* (1996) who found a category of 'detached stayers' who had remained in the Borders after leaving school, but often felt excluded and voiced negative feelings about the locality.

Whether people in an ambiguous category 'belong' is mediated by various other factors: picking up a Beulach accent or continuing to sound as if they, like their parents, come from Hamilton, Newcastle or wherever; remaining in the area; marrying a 'real local'; etc.

To illustrate this, I will detail the case of the White family. Figure Three shows the kinship diagram of this family.

Stephen White is from New Zealand, but came to Britain as a young man to visit relatives near London. While travelling round Britain, he fell in love with the scenery of the north west, and got a summer job on Skye and then in Beulach, where he met his first wife, Alice. She was from Edinburgh and on holiday in Murach at the time. After going out with each other for a year or so, they decided to get married and settle in Beulach in 1964. They had two children, Sue (born in 1970) and Fraser (born in 1972). Alice died in a car accident in 1977. Stephen, running a business and with two small children, could not cope alone and employed a housekeeper/nanny. The children had two or three housekeepers in the space of four years, when the post became vacant again and Jane applied for the job. She is from Sheffield but had been living in London. Her husband had also died young, of cancer, in 1979, and she had a small son. She was looking for a fresh start in a completely different place. She and Stephen immediately got on well, and ended up marrying in 1983.

Jane's mother Ena moved from Sheffield to sheltered accommodation in Bailemór in 1986. Ena's sister Betty and her husband Sam decided in 1995 to move north too as they had no children of their own, and so most of their family were now in Beulach. They bought a small cottage in Bailemór. Unfortunately, Sam died only a year after moving there, but Betty plans to stay.

Of the young generation of Whites, none are currently resident all year round in Beulach, although all return regularly. Sue, the eldest, went to Edinburgh to do a college course in 1987. Between then and 1990, she spent summer seasons working in Beulach and winters in Edinburgh. In 1990, she bought a house in Edinburgh with her boyfriend Colin, whom she had met the year before. They have lived there since, but are planning to move to Beulach in 1998, and are currently trying to construct a viable business plan.

FIGURE 3: THE WHITE FAMILY

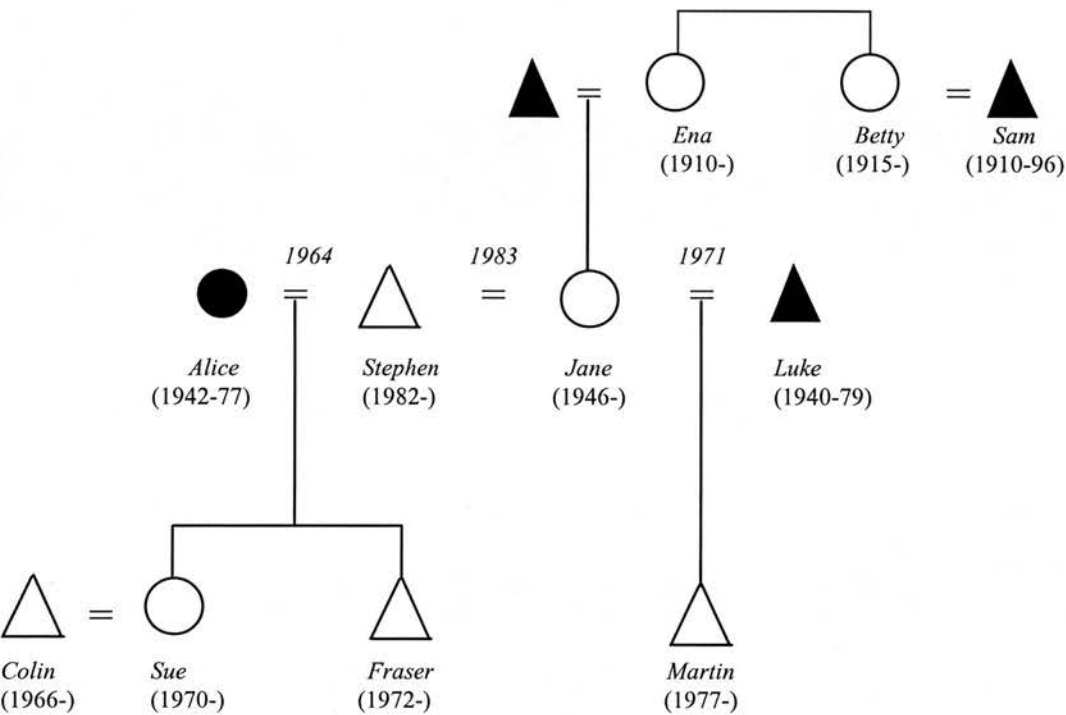
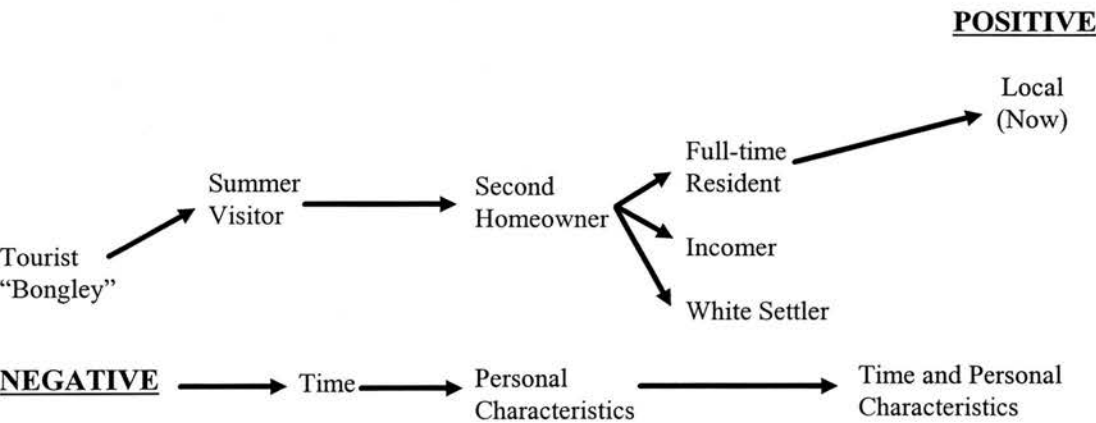


FIGURE 4: BELONGING TRAJECTORY



Fraser left school at 16 and worked in a Bailemór shop for two years. He left Beulach in 1990, joining the RAF. He was posted for the first few years in Lossiemouth, and went back to Beulach for nearly all his time off. Two years ago, he requested a transfer to Germany, as he wanted to see more of the world. He intends to work for the RAF for fifteen years, then travel, and eventually return to Beulach.

Martin was six when he and his mother moved to Beulach. Last October, he left Beulach to go to Glasgow University. He likes Glasgow, but plans to work every summer vacation in Beulach. He hates being in Beulach over the winter, as it is so boring, which is what gave him the impetus to go to university a year after he had left school.

Sue says Bailemór is definitely 'home' for her, but she does not think she is perceived as a local, and indeed does not want to be a local, as in her view "real local people lose sight of the fact that Bailemór's not the total centre of the world, especially if they've never been away". She thinks her family are not exactly local due to the death of her mother, who was popular in the village and would probably have brought them up as more a part of it. Her father has always kept himself detached from village life, and she and Fraser were also very much 'loners' in their teens. They never had much of a local accent and both left before they were eighteen. She says this could have been different, if she had married her first boyfriend (son of a 'real local' crofter) and stayed in Beulach and had children. Interestingly, she thinks her stepbrother is considered local, as he 'fits in so well'. He very quickly replaced his Sheffield accent with a Beulach one, has lots of friends in Bailemór, and played on the village football team.

Sue is not sure whether she will become more generally seen as local when she and her boyfriend move to Beulach. She thinks she is too oblivious and uncaring of village goings-on, and Colin is too much of a business-oriented incomer, for them to be properly integrated.

It is clear, then, that there are subtle shades of localness. What should also be remembered is that other factors influence both relationships between locals and incomers, and the speed and distance which incomers travel along the continuum towards 'local'. Class, gender, age and ethnicity all play a crucial part - as does the factor that sociological accounts too often leave out, personality (in terms of competence to be local: taking part, behaving appropriately, etc.). This is modelled simply in Figure Four. I have called the diagram's variables 'time' and 'personal characteristics'. By the latter, I mean both the way in which individuals behave and, related to this, characteristics that affect how they interact with and are perceived by others. To take class as an example, Beulach has been the site of estate owners' summer residences for many years, yet landowners are not referred to as 'second home owners'. Rather, this generally derogatory term is reserved for those of more modest means - usually middle class but not always - who have bought a house with little if any land attached to it. In terms of gender, in-migration can be hard for women if they do not fit

conventional expectations, but alternatively, one of the easiest routes to 'belonging' is for a woman to marry a local man (thus even acquiring a local-sounding name) and have Beulach-born children.

Personal characteristics and behaviour have not figured as significantly in the literature as their importance in practice would warrant. Strathern (1982) compares two men who would seem objectively equally entitled to villager status in Elmdon, and the factors that influenced one being unquestioningly regarded as a villager, and the other being regarded with much more ambivalence. These factors were: presence of other kin in the village and the amount of interaction with them; the degree of extra-village contacts; the relation of the men's forebears to the agricultural hierarchy ('real Elmdoners' are farm labourers not foremen); lifecycle stage; and, implicitly in the account, personality, although Strathern does not directly state this. The only recent work I am aware of which fully recognises the importance of personality is that of Burnett (1996). She argues that personal attributes such as how friendly someone is, are important indicators of potential for 'belonging'; and that this status can be worked on and negotiated, but always remains fragile, with a risk of it being lost.

There are, then, elements of choice and constraint in being an outsider and an insider. In most of the literature, 'belonging' is portrayed as a desirable goal. However, choosing to be outside can be difficult: if you have escaped the rat race you may not wish to be involved in village life. It is easier for the newcomer to maintain detachment (unless their livelihood depends on others) than for the insider to cut free (and why many, particularly young adults, wishing to do so, leave).

In Elmdon, Strathern (1982) found that distinctions between insiders and outsiders could not be made on the basis of cultural criteria (e.g., customs, dialect) or isolation (Elmdon was surrounded by other towns and villages). A 'real Elmdoner' was thus often objectively indistinguishable from many 'outsiders', and stress was on 'belonging' as mediated by class. The ideal typical 'real Elmdoner' was a farm labourer (in fact, around half were labourers), and many newcomers were middle class.

Similarly, Nadel found that Ferryden was "encapsulated, dependent and vulnerable" (1986: 59), so True Ferrydeners had developed a fierce commitment to egalitarianism amongst

themselves in opposition to stigmatisation by Montrose people, many of whom now live in Ferryden and view it as a suburb. Here again we see hostility between working class 'fishing folk' and newcomers who are middle class, have little in-depth knowledge of the community, and travel to work elsewhere.

One of the most influential writers on belonging and the symbolic construction of community has been Cohen (1982, 1985, 1986, 1987). His argument that too much emphasis should not be placed on the structural and visible is important - e.g., just because everybody spends the evenings watching soap operas rather than ceilidhing with the neighbours, you cannot assume a 'loss of community'. Mewett (1982) also draws a useful distinction between local culture and local consciousness. The former, which can be unique and esoteric, is in decline (Gaelic language, etc.) but this does not equal a decline in local consciousness. He wrote that in 1970s Lewis, despite the erosion of Gaelic, there was still a marked notion of Lewisness and a strong attachment to the island.

Cohen (1985) constructs a thesis of community resilience: as the structural bases of the community's boundary become undermined or weakened as a consequence of social change, so people resort increasingly to symbolic behaviour to reconstitute the boundary. People are most sensitive to their culture at the boundaries with those of others.

This point is related to the argument of Crow and Allan, who remark that the danger of an 'outsider→insider' continuum is that "proliferation of types will bring diminishing returns if in the process the relational quality of the insider/outsider distinction is lost" (1995a: 10). Opposites and Others remain an important part of definition and also of networks of relationships in which people are engaged, even if such oppositions on closer inspection are likely to take the form of a continuum rather than dichotomy.

In his critique of Cohen's work, Knight (1994) argues that the literature about textual strategies (e.g., Clifford and Marcus, 1986) is focused on translation as a bridge across a great gulf of difference. The initial positing of difference is itself problematic. He argues that anthropology may have exaggerated the difference of those it represents. In his view, Cohen's theoretical and ethnographic writings are an example of the exaggeration of local difference: a locality is subject to the national workings of state institutions, yet Cohen (1987) only makes oblique passing reference to the county council, and none to other state

institutions. Whalsay is clearly firmly part of a wider cash economy, yet Cohen goes on to explain the absence of depopulation in terms of the vitality of 'local culture' and sense of belonging. This amounts to treating migration as a sign of a weakening of local community. According to Knight, in Cohen's work, "The pride of place accorded to local identities leaves no room for emergent identities related to the new social parameters of the lives that 'Whalsaymen' actually lead" (1994: 228).

It is evident that there is a fine balance to be struck. Increasingly subtle theories of belonging qualify the dichotomous insider/outsider model, and 'difference' has often been overstated. Yet clearly difference - in terms of unequal claims on the status of 'belonging' - *is* an important feature of life in many communities.

Jedrej and Nuttall (1995) are sceptical about the presumption that the social scientific vocabulary of belonging is no more than an accurate version of the everyday vernacular about locals/incomers. Rather than there being a simple shift from common sense perceptions to the technical terms and definitions of demography, they argue that there is a "quite radical change of language from a vocabulary which is fundamentally metaphorical to an account which strives to represent the objective reality of migration in a literal way" (1995: 114). The terms 'locals' and 'incomers' are evidently not a literal description of reality, as can be seen in the way they are used: rather than indicating a problematic experience requiring explanation, they are deployed to explain and account for experiences in a locality. Jedrej and Nuttall give the example of the 1992 ritual child abuse allegations in Orkney, and the way everyone remarked on the incomer status of families and social workers involved. They conclude that the vocabulary of 'locals' and 'incomers' "is a complex and deeply embedded metaphor providing the terms through which people express and give meaning to the experiences which constitute their lives" (1995: 116) - not the starting point for objective investigation into specific demographic categories.

It has been pointed out above that status and identity include other factors apart from how long people have been resident in a place, such as class, age, gender, ethnicity and personality. I am now going to explore issues of social change and migration in Beulach, examining how these factors interact and mediate insider-outsider relations. I have organised the discussion around three themes, the subject matter of which is not only salient in the literature and in media discussions of, e.g., white settlers, but is also significant for

Beulach residents and cropped up frequently in day-to-day discussions and gossip: housing; committees; and the mobilising of the incomer/local vocabulary in situations of conflict.

The Demographic Context

Background information to these issues has already been provided in the account of the rural renaissance debate in Chapter Two, and the Beulach specific data in Chapter Four, so this section needs only reiterate some key points.

In Scotland, there is a fairly widely held image of the 'typical incomer' to the Highlands and Islands:

The visiting cynic or chauvinist might easily be tempted to hasty judgement about the main driving force in the Highland economy of the 1990s, and conclude that the place runs on elderly English hippies making pottery, leather bracelets and scented candles. Stands there a village anywhere that lacks a 'traditional' craft emporium? Such a view is indeed cynical and chauvinistic, even if it is not entirely wrong. There certainly has been a measurable influx from the south in recent years, encouraged by a property boom which, for a time, allowed the suburban escapist to sell his semi, buy a decent Highland property, bank the balance and have the interest to live off in case the batik failed to sell.

(Keith Aitken, *The Scotsman*, 16 April 1996)

The Census data do indeed show that the English-born population of the Highlands and Islands had grown to almost an eighth of the population in 1991 (Linklater, 1997).

On the mainland, in Highland Region, the population had grown from 187,008 in 1981 to 198,621 in 1991. This 6.2% increase consists of +1% births/deaths and +5.2% through immigration. However, there are variations between districts, with growth concentrated in the less remote areas.

The district in which Beulach is situated actually experienced a small decrease (-0.8%) from 12,927 in 1981 to 12,819 in 1991 (-4.4% births/deaths, +3.6% migration). It is one of the four least densely populated Highland districts, and has slightly fewer young people and more elderly than the Highland average. Of all the districts, it has the highest rate of economic inactivity for men, and the second highest for women. It has the third lowest percentage of inhabitants born in Scotland.

In Beulach itself, English-born residents actually make up one fifth of the population. From the Census Small Area Statistics ($n = 824$), it can be seen that 74% of Beulach residents were born in Scotland and 21% in England (this is true also of both men and women when looked at separately). Of the remaining 5% (36 people), three-fifths were born in other European countries (including Wales, Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic). Obviously these figures mask certain processes, e.g., where in Scotland the 74% come from; people from Beulach families who were born in England or elsewhere, etc. Nevertheless, the residents of Beulach were overwhelmingly born in Scotland (albeit with a substantial minority born in England), which is interesting in itself given the press concentration on the 'Englising' of the Highlands (Jedrej and Nuttall, 1996).

Beulach qualifies the image of the affluent middle class in-migrant. They exist - and are very prominent on the committees of local organisations, as will be seen - but so do others. In the past, the working class in-marrying woman has been a characteristic in-migrant. Since the 1960s, many working class people have moved to Bailemór for the same combinations of 'quality of life' and relationship reasons as the stereotype 'white settler'. In comparison with Inverpool to the south, where there are more English and middle class incomers, it can be seen that moving to Bailemór has been possible for those of lower socio-economic status due to the existence of the fishing industry, construction work, and local authority and housing association property. Some come as individuals: e.g., Gavin from Paisley, who came to work as a labourer on a construction site fifteen years ago, and liked it so much he persuaded his girlfriend to come up and join him; or Kelly from Glasgow, who wanted a new start after breaking her heroin addiction, and so took a seasonal hotel job and fell in love with a local skipper. Some come as couples, like Tommy and May (see vignette below); and the Edwards who came on their honeymoon and decided to take the risk of giving up their jobs and staying (Mr Edwards now drives the refuse lorry, and they have bought their council house). The McKees came a few times on holiday, staying in a caravan, and then when Mr McKee got a well paid offshore job, they moved to Bailemór. Their marriage did not survive but both stayed in the village, remarrying to local people. The working class in-migratory route to Beulach is typically, as for middle class people, an enjoyable holiday experience. Also very common, however, is coming for temporary work (in hotels, for women, and on construction sites, for men) and then staying. Middle class in-

migrants often have more capital and so less need of the security of a paid job arranged in advance.

Second Homes, Holiday Lets and House Prices

Mention the Highlands and housing to almost anyone in Scotland and you would elicit a response along the lines of 'housing shortage...second homes standing empty most of the year...locals priced out of the market'. A variation on this theme has already been seen above in Aitken's quote about the suburban escapist selling up down south and able to buy a decent Highland property and have capital left over. According to Jedrej and Nuttall, "a sense of the lack of availability of housing in a rural locality is often accounted for in terms of the relationship between locals and incomers. Such accounts have a long history which is more or less independent of general demographic trends in rural-urban or urban-rural migration" (Jedrej and Nuttall, 1995: 115). In all these accounts and at all periods, "what is striking is the notion that 'incomers' are somehow out of place and disturbing what would 'ordinarily' be the case" (1995: 116).

Many different researchers have documented strong feelings over housing. Gray found "mutterings of hostility" (1993: 463) over the issue in the Scottish Highlands. Burton (1997) in Cornwall; Day and Murdoch (1993) in Wales; and Forsythe (1980) in Orkney, all note local feelings about house prices and incoming buyers. In Padstow, hostility was expressed towards wealthy incomers who bought up property but retained links elsewhere (Gilligan, 1987). In Cauldmoss, the greatest hostility was towards tenants (moved in by the local authority) viewed as endangering local codes of respectability (Wight, 1993). In Beulach, the former type is most likely to be called 'white settler'. The Cauldmoss example has occurred to a degree in the village of Bailemór: in the late 1960s and '70s, increased availability of council housing, and more recently the collaboration between the social work department and housing associations, has led to local residents voicing concerns along the lines of "how many problem families can one small place absorb?".

Coleman delineates what he calls the second home mythology, which runs as follows: second home owners seek character properties; they force up house prices; they are uninvolved in the local community; there is antagonism between second home owners and permanent residents; owners intend to retire to their second homes, and have all their

holidays there; there is little economic benefit derived from the presence of second home owners (1982: 102). However, he found in rural East Anglia that the local involvement of second home owners was greater than supposed; only half of his sample were planning to retire there; and a quarter of local businesses said they received substantial trade from second home owners.

In Coleman's study, permanent residents felt house prices had been forced up, despite some saying that many second homes were buildings not suited to local needs (i.e., very decrepit or isolated). Caird (1972) also notes that abandoned houses in marginal areas of the Highlands and Islands were increasingly purchased as summer cottages from 1951-70; and Newby (1979) says incomers cause resentment if there is real housing shortage, but in many cases are buying and restoring buildings that would otherwise be abandoned.

Tensions over housing do not really figure in earlier community studies, so it would seem to be the case that this issue is related to rural renaissance since the early 1970s. The literature, however, seldom distinguishes and does not explore the differences between what is felt or said by local residents about the housing market; and what it is actually doing. Furthermore, as Maclean points out, "It is too often forgotten, also, that if strangers are buying up houses in the Highlands, it is because Highlanders are selling them" - and, he adds, making a handsome profit from something that cost them nothing (1984: 192). This was reiterated more recently by Joan McAlpine in an article on Ardnamurchan: "the natives are also responsible for the darkened windows and locked doors" - they work in the south and come back for holidays, let out their cottages to visitors, or sell them at high prices (*Scotsman Weekend*, 19 February 1994).

In Beulach, there is to a certain extent a received wisdom that incomers have pushed up house prices. This has been seen in Dolly's narrative, at the start of the chapter. It is shared even by incomers, such as Harry. Harry came from Glasgow to Beulach in the early 1960s, met and married a regular summer visitor, and then they lived in Beulach until the mid-80s, when they moved to an urban area to be nearer hospital facilities. I interviewed Harry when he returned on holiday in 1995, and he told me:

There was resentment about holiday homes, the white settlers especially. Especially the English, the middle classes coming up - solicitors, doctors - so many of them came up, they were nice when they were having a holiday home,

or trying to get a home, but once they got it and they were moving here full-time, then they tried to act lord of the manor, as though they were the real millionaires, the landowners, and they, most of them weren't popular, probably a lot of them are still not popular. They were sort of resented. And then of course they pushed the prices of houses away up. If there was any empty croft houses, they'd pay in those days ten, twenty thousand for it and no local people could afford that, so they were resented very much for that. But the ones that were coming up, younger people living and making it their home and working in the place, most of them were welcome. Most of the local people saw that they had new ideas and they helped to develop the place...most of them were welcomed, I think, and integrated very well into the community.

He has placed himself and his friends into a category of unresented incomers. Similarly, another elderly lady talks of incomers from Glasgow and then stops herself, amused, when she realises that her own daughter and son-in-law were born and grew up in Glasgow. The extract is also interesting as it highlights how migration is related to personal relationships:

when I come up here [now], the people that I know, and the way of living is quite different to what it was. A lot for the better, mind, I'm not condemning it, but [...] there's as many Glasgow people here as there are the ones that Johnny and Ella know - well they're from Glasgow themselves [laughing] - but then they have some, Ella had some connection with the place. I'm amazed at the number of people who are up and they don't seem to have any connection with the place at all. But Johnny and Ella have been up 13 years I think. Och, when they used to talk about it, I thought, och, they'll never do it, they'll never come up. Johnny used to say, well, if I don't go up before I'm 40 I'll not go up at all. And they've made a life for themselves. Oh yes. Quite a change. And funnily enough, there's two girls, one of them I taught [in Glasgow], Amanda, I would never have thought Amanda would have come up here to live. She came up to visit the other girl, Phyllis, who went to the same school as Ella. Phyllis had relatives up here and came up like I did.¹ Amanda came up to visit Phyllis first of all and was quite taken with the place, and they bought this house, and Amanda has three children and they come up but unfortunately she's divorced now. But she wouldn't go back. She says her children are getting a better education here than they would in Glasgow.

On the whole, Beulach residents talk about it being a pity that 'the real locals are dying out', and yet mostly have an appreciation that in-migration has made the community more populous and lively, as was seen in Dolly's narrative at the start of the chapter. It is also perceived (as it was in the studies by Caird, 1972; and Coleman, 1982) that many incomers

¹ as they were 'peelie-wally'.

do up houses that young local couples would not want to take on. Resentment about immigration usually only surfaces in relation to specific events and behaviour, discussed in the section on conflict.

However, it is interesting to look at how the actual workings of the housing market correspond with what people feel and say. Community attention is focused on private houses that go up for sale, and on new built houses. From my analysis of the Sasines computerised record, available since 1992, of the total transactions registered from then until 1996 ($n = 58$), only 13% were the sales of private houses, and 7% were of business buildings (two hotels, a pub and an industrial unit). 33% were council house sales to their tenants (plus the sale of the school house to the Headteacher by the District Council), and 38% were transfers of parcels of ground. The vast majority of these were small parts of crofts, often disposed to family or friends for very small fees, for them to build on. A few were more lucrative, e.g., a house site in Bailemór village and a site bought by a construction company to build housing association flats.

There are 66 council houses in Bailemór, and as of 1997, 25 had been sold to their tenants, with a further 7 sales pending. In 1996, there were 25 applications on the waiting list for council house tenancies. There are also 30 housing association properties (including 12 bungalows in the sheltered housing scheme in Bailemór), and more are planned for the near future.

The Census Small Area Statistics give occupancy details for 'household spaces' (all dwellings excluding hotels/boarding houses with rooms only). In the Beulach area, a substantial 28% ($n = 550$) come under the heading of 'accommodation not used as main residence'. However, this figure can be further broken down. Only 12% of total household spaces are classified as 'second residences', and 11% are classified as 'holiday accommodation'. These two categories come under the heading of household spaces where there were no persons present at the time of enumeration. A further 5% of total household spaces was also accommodation not used as a main residence, with persons present at the time of the census enumeration who were not residents. This small category could obviously cover a range of cases, e.g., a second home being stayed in by friends of the owners; or probably most commonly, occupied holiday accommodation.

In other words, in Beulach there are as many holiday accommodation dwellings (owned by Beulach residents and in many cases making staying in Beulach financially viable for them) as there are second homes.

Obviously, with the concentration of council and housing association properties in Bailemór, 'accommodation not used as a main residence' is not evenly spread throughout the parish. A housing survey was carried out by Alexander in 1996¹ in the thirteen north Beulach townships (population about 300). He found that of 240 houses, over a third were holiday or second homes, and in five of the more picturesque townships, this proportion rose to nearly half of all houses. There are only twelve council houses in the north of Beulach, and 80% of properties were owner-occupied (in practice, 'owner-absent' for much of the year in many cases). Most of these are registered croft houses, but in the areas nearer Bailemór, non-croft owner-occupation was growing steadily. Younger couples want to be in these areas for access to schools. Alexander estimated that there were 4-5 house sales per annum 'at prices outwith the reach of most locals', and 2 per annum built privately, for incoming retirees or as holiday homes. There were a further two new built houses per annum for young locals, on cheap sites acquired from family and friends, aided by grant schemes. From the 18 interviews with people in all the different townships, Alexander concluded that a quarter of North Beulach households have moved into the area within the last five to ten years. About half of these people are retired, mostly incomers who have been regular summer visitors. The remaining half are younger, mostly couples, some with children. He states that many of these have some kind of family connection.

Having repeated that houses are sold for high prices to incomers, Alexander goes on to note that the average price for a well-maintained two bedroom croft house is £45,000. In the summer of 1995, there were six houses for sale in North Beulach, ranging from £75,000 for a four bedroom bungalow with two bathrooms to £46,000 for a two bedroom house requiring some work.

I would suggest that these prices are not in fact unreasonable, but that locally resident people choose to build as it can be cheaper if they are eligible for Crofters

¹ not included in the bibliography in order to preserve anonymity.

Commission grants and loans. However, it should be taken into account that wages are in many instances quite low, so this could in practice push the prices into the unreasonable range. Alexander estimates that a common annual income is between £5-£8,000. I am slightly sceptical about this as he also says crofting activity is integral to way of life but provides little income. Crofters are notoriously cagey about admitting even how many sheep they own, let alone what they make annually, and both crofters and other people in Beulach are very unlikely to disclose certain types of income. For example, working lobster creels or unloading the big multinational boats can be very lucrative.

Three houses stood out in the Sasines as undergoing dramatic price increases. One of these is discussed in Chapter Eight. The other two are large stone 19th century houses in Bailemór village.

The first was built by a skilled tradesman who later left the parish and became a minister. In 1929, his widow sold the house for £500 to a retired inspector of schools in Edinburgh. In 1938, he sold the house for £900 to a Highland businessman, whose family then owned it until 1990. It was then sold in a state of disrepair for £84,000 to a return migrant couple in their thirties.

The second was owned by a local family until 1927, when they sold it for £1,050 to a retired planter from Trinidad who was living in Bailemór (and probably originally from Beulach). It was transferred to his son in Trinidad in the 1930s, and then sold by him for £1,650 to a woman called Matheson living in Paris. Her executor sold it to a couple from Inverness-shire for £21,195 in 1986. They got an improvement grant from the District Council for around £8,000. They sold it on to a couple based in Perthshire for £92,250 in 1990.

Both these houses were bought for high prices and required extensive renovation. However, they are also beautiful houses in prime sites.

In sum, the Beulach housing market is quite active, and houses certainly do not tend to languish unsold or go for very low prices. However, housing was not an extremely contentious issue: there did not seem to be particularly strong hostility towards incomers on those grounds, or feelings of direct competition. While house prices are not too unreasonable, it is a hard market for first time buyers, especially given the scarcity of stable

year round employment. Short-term employment coupled with high rates of economic inactivity must make it difficult to get a mortgage, let alone keep up payments.

Return migrants or those from wealthier local families have successfully bought and renovated desirable houses in recent years, so it is certainly not the case that incoming strangers ride roughshod over local housing needs. However, I was surprised by the Sasines data on actual sales and I think most Beulach residents would be too: the significant sales (bits of ground and council houses) are certainly not the high profile ones in village gossip.

Committees: 'the same people do everything'

90% of the country wonder what on earth we do with ourselves to pass the time. Well, I don't think they have much experience of the Local Committee. Show any sympathy at all for any particular local organisation, and, the chances are, you are on The Committee. This demigod of democracy, once it has you in its grasp, is entirely without mercy with its demands on your private time. Not only that, but I suspect the existence of an inter-committee liaison organisation, as having joined the committee, you invariably find yourself appointed to several other committees, where, in all likelihood, you will meet all the same people that were on the first committee. All, that is, except the people from the other end of our Highland social spectrum, the Anti-committee Type. It is not for them to trudge along to the local hall in response to the secretarial summons when a good fire and the TV are to hand. They also appear to have the ability (not evident in the Committee Member Type) of going to ground whenever they imagine that they are going to be asked to become involved. It really takes something quite out of the ordinary to draw a response from this quarter, something like a sheep-stock club meeting, or similar event which might mean *money*. That can make a difference.

(John MacDonald, *Am Bratach*, January 1996)

I spent a lot of my time in Beulach taking part in voluntary organisations: I wanted to meet people and find out what was going on; I happened to be living with a family who were involved in various organisations; I could take minutes and type, and thus be a useful low-profile presence. Committees alerted me to many on-going Beulach projects, but were also interesting and useful as they are used as a forum for the exchange of news and gossip. Helping at fund-raising events also gave me an appropriate role (as opposed to, e.g., propping up the bar, which is not acceptable for a female ethnographer) and a chance to meet others who were not members of local organisations at all. This was particularly the case if I was working on the bar or door at dances, or selling raffle tickets at ceilidhs and

quiz nights. I also fitted the 'committee type', being a middle class under-employed incomer!

There are some thirty organisations in Beulach, ranging from interest groups such as the Rifle Club and WRI, to branches of national charities such as the Save the Children Fund (SCF), to practical organisations such as the playgroup and the mountain rescue team. From my fieldwork it was clear that although membership varied from organisation to organisation (e.g., the RNLI were known as 'the Lifeboat Ladies', SCF was also exclusively female, and the Field Club and History Society are dominated by in-migrants) the general pattern was of people being involved in a few different organisations, and committee office bearers in particular having middle class backgrounds. Committee membership is strongly influenced by class and occupation. In Bailemór, doctors, ministers and schoolteachers have traditionally been treated with considerable deference, e.g., always referred to by their title and surname (cf., Knipe, 1984: 49), and at the same time expected to take on public duties. In the Village Hall Committee, the doctor, schoolmaster and minister are actually trustees by virtue of their office. Apart from these professions, some other people in demanding full-time employment are in voluntary organisations (e.g., social workers; owners of small businesses) but many are not. In-migrants who have taken early retirement, wives not in paid employment with husbands who are, and retired locals of both genders, are common on committees. People in Beulach often express sentiments similar to Macdonald's tongue-in-cheek quote above, and Ardener also notes that in remote rural areas "the same set do everything" (1987: 47). 'Doing your bit' for the village and 'taking part' are altruistic motives for what can be time-consuming and harassing work (if you are treasurer or secretary especially). However, people are also in these organisations for social reasons. If you do not go to the pub, a committee is almost the only alternative forum for chatting to people who are not close friends or family.

People from certain backgrounds are obviously more comfortable with the committee format. The playgroup is noticeably class influenced: the mothers who do most are fairly affluent, and many are professionals (e.g., teacher, vet) who would probably be in paid employment if living in an urban area. A few women from a less middle class background, who work in the seasonal service sector, mentioned feeling unwanted or excluded by these

mothers. Conversely, the mothers who do most bemoan the lack of help and express a wish for more of the other mothers to get actively involved.

Although people who are used, by virtue of occupational background, to sitting in committee meetings tend to make up the active membership of most organisations, this does not equate with 'incomers'. However, most active members who have claims to 'localness' have worked away from Beulach for considerable periods. A slight exception is the Highland Games Society, which has a higher proportion of male and local members, as it is linked to 'men's' activities such as the hill race, fly-casting contest and whisky consumption of the Games Day.

It can be generalised that most Beulach residents have links with some organisation - even if only making sure to support fund-raising, e.g., a lot of Beulach women buy their Christmas cards from SCF. The campaign for a sports centre attracted a broad membership, and wider support at fund-raising events, as everyone could see it being of benefit for the young people of the village. People are 'one-off' members of organisations that are interest related. By this I mean that someone who is in the badminton club or playgroup may not participate in any other organisations. Active members of several committees are a much smaller proportion of the Beulach population. However, I would estimate that committee members are proportionately a higher percentage of the total population than in urban areas. This is partly to do with the lack of alternative social facilities (and for some, particularly women who would be in paid employment in an urban area, the lack of rewarding paid employment), and partly to a real feeling of the community being small enough that your individual effort can make a difference to life there. As one member of many different organisations said to me, "if we don't do it for ourselves, nobody would give us these things" (sports centres, playgroups, village hall, etc.).

I was interested to find at a Community Care meeting of wider Highland professionals that Beulach is viewed as relatively dynamic in the context of the Highlands: a community that can achieve things for its own good. The reason for this is probably demographic, as with employment and council housing available, the population is well-balanced age-wise.

Munro wrote that in Balnamara "the doctor's wife complained that the same people ran the Flower Show Committee and the village hall committee: she wanted fisher people and

others to get involved but disregarded local women's lack of public confidence and committee experience as well as their commitment to their children and fear of offending others" (1996: 282). Female group leaders were usually from outside the village, as the Balnamara ideal was for all to appear equal. Because of the high levels of in- and out-migration in Beulach, this situation of consensual decision-making and reluctance to take leaders' roles (see also Cohen, 1987; Forsythe, 1980) is not marked in Beulach. I attended many meetings where feelings ran high and were expressed quite directly in disagreement with others present. Sometimes the falling-out of committee members (either over committee business or in other aspects of their lives) actually hampers committee progress, e.g., with certain office bearers barely on speaking terms with others.

Jedrej and Nuttall declare that "it is a characteristic trait of incomers that they tend to join local historical societies, while locals do not" (1996: 69). It is noticeable in Beulach that attempts to protect and preserve what are seen as components of local distinctiveness - scenery, flora and fauna, Gaelic, history, music - are often dominated by (middle class) in-migrants. This is part of what Ardener has termed "remote-area anxiety: the arrival of another new incomer is a sign that the fastness has been penetrated" (1987: 47).

In all organisations, in-migrants can have a useful role. Frankenberg (1957) documents the role of strangers and the upper classes in a Welsh village, and Jedrej and Nuttall comment on their more recent Scottish research that as outsiders by definition must have a more objective view, longer-term residents find this very useful in matters affecting common interests such as roads and sewage. As a result:

incomers will soon find themselves on Community Councils, School Boards, District Councils and the like...especially if sojourners of long duration such as the minister, the doctor or teacher are unavailable. Incomers may find this flattering and presume that it is indicative of their integration into the 'community', or, less generously may talk about the 'apathetic locals', when actually their worth lies in their ambivalent position in so far as they are residents in the settlement but yet are also not part of 'the community'.

(Jedrej and Nuttall, 1996: 99).

This attitude about 'apathy' is held by many active committee members in Beulach and if expressed openly can cause deep offence, particularly to those who have been active

residents for 40 years or more. For example, I was at one meeting where the potential of developing something - with some hard work involved - from charitable status to a business concern was being discussed. The idea was dropped after the chairperson remarked sarcastically "judging by the way people on the west coast throw themselves forward into voluntary work and commercial propositions...". This was actually greeted with laughter from the meeting, which was attended by about ten people, none of whom had been born in Beulach, although two had lived there nearly all their childhoods. I asked one of the latter afterwards if he minded people saying such things, and was told that he agreed that people who have always lived in Beulach have no 'get up and go', although Beulachers who have worked away for a while (like himself, of course) have more drive and energy.

I am going to analyse the membership of a selection of Beulach organisations, but before doing so, I wish to include two short vignettes showing typical 'committee people':

Nancy was born in Aberdeen but married a man from a 'real Beulach family' and returned to Bailemór with him in the 1950s. She was an energetic woman who had given up an intellectually satisfying and demanding job in Aberdeen, so while bringing up her two daughters in Beulach, she also threw herself into committee work. She did a variety of fund-raising, campaigning, secretarial and other practical work on the Education Committee (now defunct); the Village Hall committee; the Highland Games Society and a couple of children's charities. She did most work after her daughters were older until she was nearly 70, but even after that when her health was failing she kept up some 'light duties' in a few organisations.

Les and his wife are English, but they met and married while working in Edinburgh. They moved to Beulach six years ago, before their children were born. They run a tea-shop and gallery in inland Beulach. Their children have Gaelic names. Les is an office bearer in the Beulach History Society, and in the county-level Gaelic Association. He has also campaigned for the provision of Gaelic schooling in Bailemór, and was one of the organisers of a Beulach festival celebrating traditional Highland music, culture and language.

To illustrate the overlapping membership and background of active committee members, I will look at four organisations: the Community Council; the Local History Society; the Highland Games Committee; and the Community Woodlands Trust. Each is described in turn here, and Table Six (see Appendixes) gives a full list of the 36 most regular attenders at meetings of these organisations: their occupations, and other voluntary commitments.

The Beulach Community Council was set up some ten years ago as part of a government move to collect and channel local opinion to MPs or Highland Council. In the words of one member and regular attender, it has 'no teeth', in that it has no power to alter situations directly, but it is effective at bringing issues to do with, e.g., roads and planning permission, to the attention of the relevant Highland Council departments. Meetings are held every month or so, and move around the whole parish. To become a Community Councillor, you must be proposed, seconded and elected by the Community Council. This makes it sound like a self-perpetuating oligarchy, but in fact, anyone who attends meetings frequently will be asked if they would like to join, as they are keen to keep recruiting members. The first fifteen people in Table Six are currently members. As can be seen from the Table, all of these people are involved in other organisations, and most run businesses or have other professional jobs, such as social workers and doctors.

The Local History Society officially covers the whole of Beulach, but tends to be viewed by non-members as a North Beulach organisation, as its key members live there and its exhibitions have been held in the small Clach village hall. It also keeps a photographic archive. The Society is viewed as being 'run by incomers', although that is not strictly true. Les, Frances and Michael (numbers 17 and 18 in Table Six) are the only 'real' incomers. Ethel (16) and Gertrude (19) retired to Beulach, but they both have kin links to the area and spent part of their childhood in the parish. The other main committee members are Norman (19), a man from North Beulach who is Headteacher of the Bailemór Primary School; and Helen (22) and Isabel (23), local women who worked away from Beulach and returned to the parish with non-local husbands. Another, older 'real local' (Oliver, 21) who has been interested in Beulach's history for many years, has stopped attending meetings of the Society and complained to me that it had been 'taken over by incomers'. This society gave me a clearer understanding of this process, as I consistently expressed interest and offered to help, and was only once or twice asked to do so. Main committee members seemed happy enough for others to attend meetings or help at events, but clearly felt that they did not need them, and quite often did not even remember to notify more 'marginal' members of changes of meeting times, etc.

The sole purpose of the Highland Games Committee is to ensure the smooth running of the annual Games Day in August, so the autumn period is one of low activity. Organisational

work for the Games begins with the new year and builds to a peak of activity over the summer months. The Games Committee has a large membership, many of whom are called on for specific tasks around the time of the Games Day itself (e.g., to sell programmes or raffle tickets; work on the bar at the Dance, etc.). The regular attenders are: Andrew (1), a former Navy officer; Kevin (14), a businessman married to the sister of Isabel (23), who is also on the Committee; Oliver (21) and Helen (22), who are also in the History Society; the bank manager, Peter (24); two women who have married in to the same local family, Jean (25) and Kathleen (26); two local crofters and businessmen, Robbie (27) and Frank (7); and two in-migrants with long-standing ties to the area, Simon (28) and Thomas (29), both of whom are teachers.

The core of the Woodlands Trust are five men who attend all the meetings. One is a fish farm manager, another is an estate factor. Neither of these two have extensive involvement in other organisations. The other three are all also on the Community Council. Two of the five are involved in businesses related to the fishing industry. One is in tourism. Two of them have an armed forces background. One was a teacher. Of these five men, none were born in Beulach, although two spent all their childhoods in the parish. Other (male) regular attenders are a retired English inventor (2), and a retired biologist from Ireland (34), both of whom are also in the Field Club. Two female in-migrants (32, 36) in their fifties also attend most meetings. One was formerly a psychiatrist and the other a teacher. The local (female) councillor (3) sometimes attends, and is involved in many other organisations. Occasional attenders are the Beulach ranger (31, resident for the last year); the primary school teacher (also playgroup and SCF); a 'real local' who is also in the mountain rescue team and the gun club (33); and a former shipyard worker from Aberdeen. The last two, like two of the core members, are particularly interested in running the Trust as an employment providing enterprise.

In sum, most active committee members are on at least one other committee, and often have spouses or other relatives who are involved in various committees too. Thus one family (such as the one I stayed with) can be represented in a large proportion of Beulach organisations. As can be seen from Table Six, nearly half of active committee members of these organisations ($n = 36$) are either from Beulach or married to Beulach people, or have

other Beulach kin links. Only five are in just one organisation (and even they may be members of others which I was not aware of).

While committee membership is thus by no means wholly dominated by incomers, it is strongly influenced by socio-economic status, and most office bearers are middle class by profession (current, former, or spouse's). Many (including the few not from this sort of background) are the sort of energetic and innovative individuals who can and do make a great deal of difference in a small community. Others enjoy feeling that they are 'doing their bit' whilst getting a little social life and excitement through the winter months.

'Local' and 'Incomer' as Labels used in Conflict

There is occasional physical conflict in Bailemór, such as fights between local residents and the Basque crews of multinational boats, or scuffles in the pub. Bailemór has a reputation for having been violent in the recent past, e.g., fights at Games Night dances. A joke from Inverpool (20 miles to the south) is "we went to Bailemór for a fight and a dance broke out". However, the vast majority of conflict is restricted to verbal warring.

The annual Highland Games which take place in Bailemór provide a good focus for discussion of localness and conflict. The Games are an 'invented tradition' (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) dating in their present form to the late 1950s. Each year a Chieftain is selected by the Games Committee as a symbolic figurehead for the day's celebrations, and one of the fishing boats is asked to be the 'Chieftain's Barge'. The Games starts with the Barge arriving at the pier, and the barge party marching to the field, preceded by a pipe band. The 'barge party' consists of the Chieftain and his/her invited retinue of friends and family, and all former Chieftains, all in full tartan regalia carrying their 'Chieftain's crooks' (shepherd's crooks engraved with their initials, presented to them by the Games Committee).

Being Chieftain is in effect a reward for a sort of combination of usefulness and localness. In the past, the Chieftain was male and of high socio-economic status (e.g., landowners, surgeons, MPs, men of local importance in the fishing industry). The first female Chieftain, in 1984, was the widow of an influential and successful figure in the fishing industry. They are now male and female, generally middle aged or elderly, and elected for a combination of localness and 'worthiness': e.g., the doctor, a war hero/crofter, the former district nurse. The

1997 Chieftain is to be the well-known and liked retired skipper of an east coast boat that was 'loyal' to Bailemór for many years.

Most of those who actually attend the Games Day are visitors to the area. The evening concert is likewise mainly attended by visitors, although some locals go too. The dance at night, however, is dominated by local residents. The Games Day was conceived of partly to provide a tourist season focus to attract visitors and thus economic benefits. However, concepts of 'localness' and 'community' underpin the Games Day. For example, at one meeting there was an argument about the introduction of a beer tent to the 1996 Games, and who should supply the drink for the tent. Several people present said that orders should remain with the local stores, who had always supplied everything in the past and gave a 5% discount. Another village shopowner said that even with the stores' discount, a non-local delivery company would be cheaper. When someone else said that orders should be kept local to support the local economy, he countered that the stores owner (the owner of Beulach Estate) was not local and did not deserve local support. Another woman retorted that nevertheless, the stores provided much-needed local employment, and supplies for those without access to Inverness shops. Someone else announced that money was not the point of the Games anyway (which was greeted with 'why have a beer tent then?!'). Finally, the Chairman announced that the landowner had saved the day the previous year by hosting the Chieftain's lunch at short notice, when the Games Committee had been badly let down by another, local, hotelier. It was decided that orders would go to the village stores, despite the additional expense.

The 1995 Chieftain, Mr Kerr, was the founder of the knitwear factory, which provides substantial employment in the area. His speech was reported thus in the Highland press:

[Mr Kerr said] 'It is over 20 years since we first came to Bailemór to establish the knitwear factory and the village has changed in many ways in that time. And yet in essence it has remained the same. When we arrived in the area there was some reticence and even suspicion at something very different arriving and that was in part understandable because the old county council had built the knitwear factory on grounds which the community understood were to be allocated for a children's playpark'. But suspicion [...] departed when it came to be known that he was Hughie Kerr's son from 'up the road' at Lairg. Mr Kerr said he was happy to say that after 20 years all of the originals who had come with the knitwear factory had remained and put down their roots and since then several others had done exactly the same. 'This was important not least in

keeping up numbers in the local school in a steady stream', he said. 'At the start I was worried about people settling into the area but the case was that many people came on short term, formed relationships and then decided to stay for good'.

(The Northern Times, 25 August 1995).

In 1996, the committee responsible for selecting the Chieftain received a nomination for the owner of the Inchbost fish farm. The fish farm is crucial to the economy of north Beulach (and indeed pays employees £12,000 per annum, which is better than both most local wages and other fish farms in the Highlands). Its owner will probably be a Chieftain at some point in the near future, but the 1996 choice was 75 year old Jessie Macpherson, from a Beulach crofting family. It was reported that:

Jessie is a true local and one of the most popular and respected personalities in the parish...Like many others she had to go to Glasgow to earn a living in her younger days. There she met and married Roddy Macpherson from Tiree...

(The Northern Times, 5 April 1996)

It has been seen that the literature largely portrays belonging in terms of a continuum of incomer/local statuses, with a possibility of moving along the continuum. In this section, I want to develop this further by arguing that these statuses are labels which are mobilised in certain circumstances, and deployed selectively. The case of Jessie illuminates these processes.

Jessie phoned Jean, the Committee member in charge of organising the Chieftain's Barge, to give her the names of those she wanted to invite on the boat trip with her. Jean is considered by many Beulach residents as a local (and has herself been a Chieftain), but did in fact spend her first twenty years in Argyll. The man who is generally the piper on the barge has lived in Beulach for around twenty years. Jessie expressed a wish for a 'real local piper' instead, adding 'you know what I mean, Jean'. Jean felt this was unfair to the usual piper, so she replied 'no, but then I'm not a local myself'. Jessie, taken aback, said 'that's completely different'. When Jean related this tale to me, she grumbled that people were called local when circumstances suited. She was very amused when I pointed out that the 'real local' alternative piper's mother was in fact from Yorkshire.

In Jessie's case, 'localness' was particularly salient at this point, as the township where she lived (and had been born and brought up in) was in the midst of a conflict over planning permission, in which rights to protest were being linked to claims to localness. The township has eighteen permanently occupied dwellings (two of which are caravans) and seven holiday/second homes. Many of the permanent residents are in-migrants of recent or long-term residence. Jessie was very fond of and had good relationships with several of these in-migrants, notably a young incomer couple who were actively crofting, and a middle-aged neighbour. Jessie's own nephew had a non-local wife, and she herself (as noted above) married a non-local man, as her mother did before her. So, actual objective in-migrant characteristics were not what troubled her. However, she had recently been at the centre of a row with and about 'incomers'. A young couple who had recently built their own house planned also to build a pub/restaurant. A campaign against this was started by the Jacksons, a couple who had recently bought a cottage across from the proposed site. They were vociferously supported by another couple of early retirees who had lived full-time in the township for two years.

When Mrs Jackson started taking round an anti-pub petition, Jessie lost her temper with her, and declared that no-one had asked them to come and live there, and incomers should not be interfering with young locals setting up businesses and providing employment - if they wanted peace and quiet they could go elsewhere for it.

This story was related round Beulach with some amusement, as Mrs Jackson was native to Ardrhu, only an hour's drive to the south. A typical comment was "whoever heard of a white settler from Ardrhu?!". The Jacksons were so upset by the fuss, however, that they moved away from the area shortly afterwards.

What I found interesting was not voiced in general, or by Jessie herself when relating the story to me after I had interviewed her. The other incomer couple, who were unrepentant about their opposition to the pub, were former lecturers who had followed the common pattern of regular holidaying in Beulach followed by purchase and renovation of a traditional croft house, ending in early retirement and a permanent move. However, their connections in terms of duration were objectively of similar status to the 'local couple' who wanted to build the pub. The young man was, it is true, from a 'real local' family, but he had

been born and brought up in England, and retains his English accent. His wife was from Glasgow and had only been living in Beulach for the previous few years.

Another particularly vicious and public conflict involved letters to the local paper, and the term 'white settler' being bandied about. Contrary to Jedrej and Nuttall's judgement (1996) that the term 'white settler' is heard as frequently as 'incomer', Beulachers try to avoid using the former and it is viewed as derogatory and offensive. I heard it most frequently in mocking self-reference by certain in-migrants, and when tempers were really lost over certain issues.

This particular incident was in connection with the title deeds to a ruined building which the History Society wished to make into a museum and exhibition centre. Someone who was aware of these plans acquired the deeds before the Society had got round to applying formally for them. Originally saying he would co-operate in the venture, he took offence at the outraged attitude of the Society, and the conflict became increasingly vitriolic. Many people, in north Beulach particularly, referred to the man as a white settler who should not be standing in the way of the community learning about and celebrating its culture and past in a suitable building. This was despite his twenty years' residence and the fact that many of the key players in the history society were more recent in-migrants.

Much conflict can be lower level, ongoing feuds. For example, a 'real local' woman with an incomer husband complained that more recent incomers had constructed a garden over a right of way in her father's township. The incomers were upset as if it had been a right of way, it was clearly no longer in use. The real local who had instigated the complaint no longer even lived in the township let alone walked about in it. A real local family which did - and were on good neighbourly terms with the incomers - fell out with the couple who had raised the issue. This ended in unresolved simmering, at some inconvenience as one family is boycotting the newsagents belonging to members of the other, which means having to get papers sent by post.

It can be seen that in situations of conflict, insults about lack of localness are thrown in to add weight - but these are not straightforward demographic characteristics. This was apparent when I asked various people to define 'white settler'. People thought this was quite easy to define, and usually said it was someone from the south, with plenty money, who did

not fit in to the local way of life, either not taking part at all, or interfering. If I then chose a person with those characteristics who I knew was quite well-liked by the person I was speaking to, the response would be denial and an attempt to explain why my example was not a 'white settler'. Three or four people at this point said straightforwardly that a white settler was someone you did not like, who had these characteristics. Personality and behaviour is crucial. This works positively as well as negatively: you move faster along the continuum from outsider to insider if you are liked and behave appropriately.

Having looked at the academic debate about in-migration, and how in-migrants are viewed in Beulach through significant aspects of everyday life, I now wish to break down this rather monolithic category of 'in-migrant'. The next section consists of vignettes of five ideal types of in-migrant, followed by a discussion of the main themes.

Vignettes

The In-Marrying Woman

1: Elsie

Elsie was born in London in 1920. She had four brothers and two sisters and they were a poor family. She left school as soon as she could and went into service. By the time she was eighteen, she got work as a lady's maid for a London family who owned a lodge in east Beulach. They came up for the shooting season and brought her with them. She had never been outside London before and was amazed by the scenery and emptiness of Beulach.

While she was there, she met Eachann, a thirty year old local man who was working as a ghillie for her employers. They fell in love, and wrote to each other while she was away in London. The next year, 1939, when she returned with her employers for the shooting season, they decided to get married, as Eachann had just inherited his father's croft. They lived in his family home in Glac, with his mother and older sister Una.

Eachann was called up during World War Two and Elsie remembers this as a very hard time. She had a small baby son and was hundreds of miles from her own family. Una was a teacher, which brought some money in, but they were very hard up. The house had no bathroom and water had to be drawn from a well 500 yards away. They used paraffin lamps for lighting and cooked and heated water on the kitchen range. In addition to looking after the baby, washing and cleaning, Elsie had to feed hens, milk the two cows, bake, knit and mend. The worst thing, however, was worrying about Eachann.

Luckily he returned safely, and after the war got a job as a gamekeeper for Elsie's former employers. With him in steady year round employment, and Una teaching, life became easier. They had a stair built in the house and divided what had previously been the loft into a bedroom for Una, a small one for their son Kenneth, and a room for themselves and their new baby daughter, Catriona.

In the 1950s, Eachann's mother died. Water and electricity were being supplied to all Beulach houses, so they made her room into a bathroom, and got electricity throughout the house, replacing the range with an electric cooker.

When their son Kenneth left school, he joined the Merchant Navy. He spent leave in Beulach and came back full time when Eachann died in 1982 at the age of 74. Kenneth was then 42 years old. He got a job on a local prawn boat to supplement his income from keeping sheep on the croft, and lives with Elsie. His sister Catriona went to Glasgow to train as a nurse after she left school, and married there. She and her husband come north regularly for holidays.

Elsie is now in her late 70s. She and Eachann always took their holidays in London to visit her relatives, but she has no wish to return there. Beulach has been her home since she was nineteen. After the strangeness and isolation of the first few years, she grew to love it and value the independence and privacy of the Glac house. She intends to live there until she dies, although she says if Kenneth had not returned she would have found it too lonely and would have tried to get a council house in Bailemór.

Eachann was a 'real old local' and Kenneth and Catriona are thought of as locals. Elsie has never lost her London accent.

2: Liisa

Liisa is from Sweden. She met her husband Eric, a man from Bailemór, in 1994 when he went on holiday to Stockholm. Eric's father grew up in Sweden and his mother is from Shetland, but Eric himself was born and brought up in Beulach.

By the time I met her in August 1996, Liisa had been in Bailemór for two years, and had not been home to Sweden for over a year. Both Eric and Liisa were unemployed and living in a housing association flat in Bailemór. Liisa had not been out of the village of Bailemór since Christmas. She had learned to drive as life in Beulach seemed impossible without a car, and saved some money to buy a car until she realised she couldn't manage the running costs. So she decided to spend the money on a long weekend away with a female friend.

When I asked if it had been difficult adjusting to life in Beulach, Liisa said she felt trapped by poverty. When she first came to Bailemór she was shocked by the number of young women who were married or had babies, and by how dowdily Beulach women dress compared to Swedish women. However, she said "it's not so much a culture shock as the isolation". She was missing her friends and family in Stockholm, and was trying to persuade Eric to move somewhere a bit bigger or friendlier. But, she said, "everyone here is scared of new things and change": Eric said all his friends were in Beulach so he did not want to leave.

By the end of 1996, Liisa had left Eric and returned to Sweden.

The Good Lifer

Jack is 37. He is from the south of England, but moved from place to place as he grew up, as his father was a university lecturer. He came up to Scotland when he was in his twenties, and got a job as an 'outward bound'-style instructor. In 1982, he went on a work-related trip

to Inverpool, about half an hour's drive south of Beulach on the west coast. He liked the look of the place so much that he talked himself into a job in the local hotel. He worked there for about a year, but did not get on well with the owner. He had just met a woman called Sally, though, so he did not want to leave the area. He took a maintenance job with the local estate, looking after its buildings. He and Sally lived together, and started to work towards being self-sufficient. They grew a lot of vegetables and kept hens and goats. They got married in 1989. Shortly afterwards Jack's mother was diagnosed as having terminal cancer. They decided to move to the south of England to be nearer Jack's parents.

Jack's mother died only a few months after they moved. This, the move, and other strains on the marriage resulted in Jack having an affair with another woman. He and Sally split up, and she moved to Sussex. Jack moved in with his new girlfriend, and worked during the summers as a countryside ranger. In spring 1995, he saw a seasonal fishing job advertised in Bailemór and applied for it, but it overlapped with his ranger's job so he changed his plans.

At the end of 1995, he and his girlfriend split up. He decided he wanted to return to the north-west of Scotland - he had always missed it, but his girlfriend had not wanted to leave the south of England. He enquired about the fishing job, and came north to work on it in April and May of 1996. During this time, he successfully applied for the post of summer youth hostel warden. By the end of the summer he had started a relationship with another woman in Inverpool and was looking around for a house and croft of his own. He plans to get by growing his own vegetables in a polytunnel and keeping hens, and hopefully get the full-time ranger's job that has just been advertised.

The Return Migrant

Karen Robertson was born in the north of Beulach in 1968. Her father is from the Scottish Borders and her mother is from Australia. They moved to Beulach in the early '60s to set up a craft business. Karen was at primary school in Beulach and then at secondary school on the east coast, which she hated. Her best friends at school lived twenty miles away in inland Beulach, so she got very bored during school holidays, until she made friends with Louise and Michelle, two sisters from Aberdeen whose parents were regular summer visitors.

Karen couldn't wait to get out of Beulach, and does not have a very high opinion of people who are content to remain there for their whole life. She went to do a secretarial course at college as soon as she left school in 1985. She chose to go to Aberdeen because her friends lived there and Michelle was starting college too.

After her one year course, she went back to Beulach for the summer with Michelle, and they both worked in the Bailemór Hotel. By the end of the summer season she had had enough, and returned to Aberdeen where she got an office job. Through a college friend of Michelle's, she met Matthew Jones, who had just finished his engineering degree. They moved in with each other at the end of 1988 when Matthew got a well paid job in the oil industry. They lived just outside Aberdeen but continued to come on holidays to Beulach, as Matthew was keen on sailing and hill-walking.

Karen continued working in the same office, but by 1989 was getting very bored. Since Matthew's earnings were good, she decided to take a degree in Business Studies, with a view to it being useful if she eventually took over her parents' business. They occasionally

talked of moving to Beulach, but as quite a distant prospect: perhaps when they were older and wanted to marry and have children.

Karen graduated in 1993. She had not enjoyed the last two years of her course as she and Matthew were both so busy and tired. There was talk of Matthew being promoted, but this would mean he would have to spend long periods offshore near Mexico. Karen was finding it hard to get a job and both were increasingly fed up. Matthew recalls that all he did was work for money which he was too tired to spend in his limited leisure hours, and all he wanted to do with the money was to go sailing in places like Bailemór.

Visiting Karen's parents for a weekend in Beulach, they heard there was a vacancy in the office of the Fish Selling Company. They decided that Karen would apply for it, and if she was successful they would move to Beulach. She got the job and Matthew continued working offshore, so they could afford to build a 'kit house' on Karen's parents' croft. They moved into the house at the end of 1994. Karen had a full-time if not well paid job in Bailemór. Matthew resigned from his job to take over the Robertson family business.

This has been a difficult readjustment, as they have taken a large drop in income. In the long run, they think the business will be more profitable, and Matthew also plans to run sailing courses. Karen is impatient, though, as she would like to start a family. They want to stay in Beulach as they think it is a good place to bring up children, and they like the opportunity of 'being their own bosses'. However, moving back has been more difficult, both financially and emotionally, than they expected.

The Bricoleur

Tommy trained as a mechanical engineer in Clydeside. He moved to Beulach about 20 years ago, when he was in his late twenties, for some temporary work repairing fishing boats. At first he stayed in a caravan in Bailemór, and then moved to a better caravan in Clashbeag when his girlfriend May came up to join him. Other Beulach people remembered that they caused quite a stir, as May was a 'bleached blonde femme fatale' and Tommy was a 'real ladies' man'.

People also say that Tommy was 'hyper-energetic' when he arrived. He was lively and boyish and seemed unable to settle to any one job. Even now, May works full-time in the knitwear factory, and he says he does 'bits and pieces'. After his first short-term contract ended, he was a chauffeur for someone who had lost their license for three years as a result of drink driving. Tommy himself used to drink and smoke heavily but gave up after a health scare five years ago.

Tommy says he liked Beulach and stayed there because he found the pace of life more laidback, and attitudes to jobs and incomes different, and more suited to him. He had an oyster farm for a while and then did sea angling charters. His attitude was, if he could make £200 in a few hours doing a charter, why work for more than a few hours?

Tommy is viewed as 'good crack'. He has a wide range of interests and has always been sociable: helping run the village pantomime; drinking in the pub; and so on. He and May now live in a council house which they bought in 1993 for £16,000.

The Downshifters

Jim and Polly Blackford live in a renovated croft house in Achnamair, five miles north of Bailemór. In the 1830s, there were 36 families in Achnamair. Before WWII, there were still the elderly representatives of five Beulach families living there, some using the remains of old houses as byres. During the 1950s, only Kitty Macleod and her brother Willie were left, in two of the cottages. Three other cottages were owned by absentee Beulachers, two of which were standing empty whilst the third was rented out to holidaymakers.

Polly's parents, who were teachers in Edinburgh, started renting this cottage for two weeks every summer in 1954 when Polly was ten and her brother was eight. She stayed there every year until 1962, the summer before she started university in Manchester. After that, she spent vacations with friends in England or abroad. Her parents continued to go to the Beulach area on holiday, but rented a cottage with better facilities, nearer Bailemór, until Polly's father died in 1978.

Polly met Jim at university in 1964 and they married two years later. For their honeymoon, they spent a couple of weeks touring in the north west Highlands as Jim, who is from Manchester, had never been there before. They camped for a couple of nights in Beulach and Polly took Jim to see the cottage in Achnamair. She was sad to find that it was falling into disrepair, and that Willie Macleod had died. Kitty was now the only resident in the township.

Jim got a job in Manchester as an English teacher, so they bought a house there. Polly started working as a freelance journalist, and they had two children, Lucy born in 1968 and Emma born in 1970. They didn't return to Beulach until Emma was three years old. By this point, tourism was 'booming', and there were two campsites with toilets and shower facilities in Beulach. The Blackfords stayed in a caravan, and 'got hooked' as they had a thoroughly enjoyable holiday. The weather was good, and the girls made lots of friends and spent every day playing outside. Polly renewed friendships with some people she had known in her teens, including a woman called Jane whose parents had inherited one of the near-derelict Achnamair cottages.

Jane and her husband Hugh lived in Glasgow but were building a new house on the site of her old family home, which they were planning to use as a holiday cottage and eventually retire to. They had three children around the same age as the Blackfords.

The Blackfords continued to stay in caravans for part of the school summer holidays each year, and made friends amongst other 'regulars'. The combination of the children growing bigger and a particularly rainy fortnight confined inside led them to look for a cottage to rent the next year. Polly's father had just died, and renting a cottage would mean her mother could come on holiday with them. They approached Jane and Hugh about renting their cottage at Achnamair. However, Jane and Hugh used it themselves in all the school holidays. They suggested that the Blackfords rented Kitty Macleod's house, which she had given to her nephew when she moved to a nursing home in Ardrhu.

From 1979, the Blackfords rented Kitty's cottage every summer for a few weeks. During this period, another couple called David and Anne bought and renovated Willie Macleod's old house. They improved the half mile of track from the road into the township, and installed a septic tank and piped water supply from a nearby river. This gave Polly the idea

of tracing the owners of the cottage she had holidayed in as a girl. Jim, however, was not so keen, as it was in a far more ruinous state than Willie Macleod's.

By 1986, Jim was persuaded they could afford it, as he had been promoted to Headteacher, and Polly was working regularly for a Manchester newspaper. Their daughters were now 18 and 16, and not really interested in Highland holidays, and it felt strange being in Beulach without them. The renovating project eased that feeling of being 'at a loose end'.

The initial serious construction work was done on the house by an Inverness building firm in 1987. The Blackfords had envisaged re-roofing the building and making it watertight, but it turned into a project that consumed all their spare time and money. Two upstairs bedrooms were created and a kitchen extension built on one side. A damp proof course, water supply, new windows and oil-fuelled central heating were installed.

By 1989, Jim and Polly had stopped renting Kitty's old house and were staying in their own cottage while they were working on it. Lucy and Emma, now respectively working and doing a design course, also stayed in the cottage sometimes, and helped to decorate it.

Jane and Hugh were also in Achnamair for long holidays, and David and Anne were there all year round. David and Anne by this time kept poultry, goats and rabbits, and grew vegetables in a polytunnel, selling them to tourists at the campsite. They had roofed over several byres and old ruins to use as workshops and storage, and helped Jim and Polly do the same to their byre.

Jim and Polly were starting to think of eventually retiring to Achnamair, as Jane and Hugh were planning to do. Then in 1993, Jim unexpectedly had a small heart attack. While he was recuperating, they took stock of their financial situation and decided that they would move full time to Beulach. Jim took early retirement on medical grounds, and Polly planned to freelance again. It was the end of 1993 before they managed to sell up in Manchester and organise their move north. Jim was by this time 53, Polly was 49, and their daughters were in their twenties.

Since they moved to Achnamair, they have continued to lead quite a busy life. Polly jokes that she is a 'telecrofter' as she keeps hens and writes, using a fax modem to keep in touch with the world of journalism. Both she and Jim are members of various local organisations.

In 1994, Polly's mother moved from Edinburgh to a small modern cottage in Bailemór. She gave some of the proceeds of the sale of her house in Edinburgh to Polly and Jim. They are using it to rebuild two of the Achnamair cottages which reverted to the estate due to lack of heirs. The estate have been selling off buildings and Polly and Jim were able to get the two cottages quite cheaply. They plan to make them into holiday accommodation, to add to their income and to provide space for their daughter Lucy and her family when they come on holiday. The rental from the cottages combined with their pensions and producing quite a lot of their own food will give them a comfortable standard of living. Their younger daughter, Emma, often comes to Beulach to paint and is considering moving there full-time to work in the knitwear factory as a designer.

Polly and Jim are quite well-liked as they are active in the local community (helping out in the old people's centre, attending events in the village hall, etc.) and have had ties to the area for a long time. Their arty daughter and the general Achnamair goat-keeping and egg-

selling are regarded with amusement by some as being 'typical incomer behaviour'. Occasionally Jim has caused resentment, as after a long career in teaching and administration he can be quite dominating in committee meetings. However, most of their time is spent in Achnamair, completely off the beaten track as far as Bailemór people are concerned, so they are usually well out of the limelight of village gossip.

Polly and Jim themselves are enjoying their change of lifestyle although they do bemoan the poor shopping facilities in Bailemór and what they see as local attitudes to change and diversification (e.g., the tenacity with which sheep-farming is clung to). They think of Achnamair now as their home but do not feel entirely committed to it - they can foresee the possibility of moving back to Manchester or Edinburgh when more frail and elderly, to be near hospitals, good cheap shops, and the theatre.

Discussion

These ideal types clearly involve class, gender and historical dimensions, and obviously, in reality, they are more blurred and blended. For example, middle class urban professionals who downshift often want at least an element of 'the good life'; return migrants often of necessity are also downshifting (as are in-marrying women who could be in paid employment elsewhere); and many in-migrants, like all other Beulach residents, must be able to "do a bit of this and a bit of that" to get by.

Obviously the in-marrying woman is exactly that, but I would estimate that the in-marrying man (combined with return migration and downshifting) is on the increase. Bricoleurs are more frequently men, purely as there is more opportunity for men to get by in this way, through the fishing industry and other male dominated manual labour (e.g., construction).

The ideal types are also affected temporally: they have not always been these five types, and they will not remain static in future. I have already mentioned that the in-marrying man will probably increase in significance. Will some 'Liisas' become 'Elsies' over the next twenty years, though? I find this difficult to judge: in the last year, of women I would have thought would be the Elsie of the future, two have left both Beulach and their husbands; and another has bought a second home in the city of her birth. The family plan to spend all the school holidays there, and potentially even move there when the children are a bit older. Perhaps younger women are no longer contented purely to be isolated housewives. However, on the other hand, if downshifting and the good life, the 'portfolio career' and 'telecrofing' continue or expand, there will surely also be a continuation of marrying-in.

Likewise, return migration seems set to increase. This is a fairly recent phenomenon, as was seen in Chapter Five. This is a trend I can only envisage reversing given the return of an economic climate as bleak as that of the 1950s. This could potentially happen in the future, if the fishing industry collapses, which is a possibility if over-fishing North Sea stocks continues.

Through these vignettes, the themes of the chapter are seen in the context of individuals' lives. Clearly, the area is valued highly by most in-migrants. Many have made considerable changes to their lives in order to move to Beulach, and investment in living in a place must appear to be rewarded by the experience being positive and fulfilling (cf., Burnett, 1996). Yet, at the same time, those who have chosen to remain in Beulach all their lives are frequently looked down upon. What is seen as local apathy, lack of innovation, and narrow-mindedness is criticised not only by downshifters and good lifers, but very often - and strongly - by return migrants.

It can be seen from the vignettes that quality of life and personal relationships underpin people's decisions to move, but there also has to be the economic possibility. For example: one of the things Liisa hated was her poverty; Jack's decisions revolved round a combination of his relationships and job opportunities; Tommy was able to get by, but would probably have had to leave if he and May had not been able to live in a council house; and the Blackfords and Karen all wanted to move to Beulach but had to wait until they could afford it.

It is interesting to look at the potential of belonging in each case. Elsie is not a 'real local', but her children are, and she definitely belongs, through length of residence and integration. Liisa does not belong, but probably could have done if she had been happier in Bailemór and remained there longer: if she had got a job, or had children, she would have played more part in daily village life, and over time would be seen as belonging.

It is too early for Jack to belong - Beulach has now seen many of his type come and go, and he will have to stay put for a considerable time before he can belong.

Karen Robertson belongs, despite having been both geographically and emotionally detached from Beulach for much of her adult life. If she and Matthew fulfill their plans of staying and having children, they will be seen as locals.

Tommy and the Blackfords are not locals, but are thought of by many as belonging to Beulach through long-standing ties. The Blackfords' status is more fragile as they have not been year-round residents for very long, so their behaviour will be crucial in securing their status as belonging to Beulach.

Like the life history accounts of Chapter Five, the vignettes show the interplay of choice, chance and constraint in people's lives: falling in love; getting a job; having a heart attack - such things can be decisive factors.

Conclusion

In general, people in Beulach are quite open to anyone from anywhere, as long as they are permanent residents who take part in community life. Those who have young children will find it quicker and easier to be 'part of the community'. Commitment to the area is valued: for example, people are approving of the current estate factor's plan to build a house for his family, as opposed to staying in the tied house as all previous incumbents have done. Young families and active people are valued even if they have no local connections.

In accordance with Crow and Allan, "Common interests may overcome some of the barriers usually put up against incomers, such as the greater acceptance of in-migrants who are 'people who serve the community'" (1995b: 7). Chamberlain (1983) gives an example of the district nurse who was quickly integrated into a fen community which was very slow to welcome most outsiders. It is a fine line though, and again interacts with socio-economic status - teachers, doctors, ministers 'belong' to the community - but those who come across as though they think they are of high value to the community and can change it for the better, as some incomer committee members do, unwittingly condemn themselves to 'white settler' status. However, in general, in a place like Beulach where there are relatively high levels of in-migration and population turnover, everyone has the potential of 'belonging' eventually (even if not being called a local).

In accordance with Knight, I would argue that there is a tendency in community studies to exaggerate local difference - in Beulach, people come from everywhere, and (although there may be more who value highly small community life or spectacular scenery) for much the

same reasons as people move to other places. One of the most significant categories of reasons is that of personal relationships.

I have focused on three specific issues in the chapter. Firstly, my research found that although housing in Beulach is not an extremely contentious issue, it is nevertheless said that prices have been 'pushed up' by demand from in-migrants. However, I found that these sort of sales were in fact a minority. Council house sales and small plots of land were the most common transactions recorded in the Sasines.

Secondly, in terms of committee membership, I found that the perception (found in both 'common sense' and academic discourse) that 'the same people do everything' was broadly true in Beulach. However, although certain societies were dominated by in-migrants, over my sample, half of the main active members were local or had kin ties to Beulach. The more significant factor for committee membership was actually socio-economic status, and in particular whether people had held the sort of professional jobs in which meetings were common practice.

Lastly, the issue of incomers and locals in conflict shows how these statuses are not fixed and immutable, nor are they simply part of a continuum along which individuals can move towards 'belonging'. In Beulach, local/incomer identity was mobilised in certain circumstances, for specific ends: often to add weight to criticisms or a rejection of a person's right to behave in a particular way (e.g., 'what business does a white settler have doing...etc.'). Incomer, local, etc., were labels that could often be distinct from objective characteristics, and the crux factor is whether someone is *liked*.

I have reiterated several times in the course of this chapter that personal characteristics are significant, and for the in-migrant, unacceptable behaviour will earn an 'incomer' identity. It therefore seems appropriate to examine social interaction in Beulach in more depth in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Very Blood and Tissue of Community Life

THE VERY BLOOD AND TISSUE OF COMMUNITY LIFE

Introduction

This chapter explores in greater depth the lived experience of 'belonging' - what it means to be a member, and interact with other members, of the small scale society that is Beulach. The main focus of the chapter is on gossip, reflecting its salience in Beulach life and consequently its high profile in my own fieldnotes. Of course, conflict is often the stuff of gossip, so this is also dealt with, broadening discussion from the section based around local/incomer identity, in Chapter Six. Gossip, scandal and conflict are a major part of Beulach social life and entertainment, so a section on humour more generally is also included.

Many of the themes of the chapter - e.g., surveillance, covert resistance, appropriate behaviour and 'knowing the score' - are found in the practice of poaching, so a discussion of this is included as a final section before concluding the chapter.

Defining Gossip

Gossip "is as elusive as the terms neighbourhood and community with which it has a close connection" (Tebbutt, 1995: 48). It is inherently ambiguous: it comes from positive roots (the late Old English 'godsibb' meant 'relative in God', and this broadened by the 14th century to mean a close friend or neighbour) to its current generally pejorative usage. In operation, it has positive and negative manifestations: it involves not only *schadenfreude* and ostracisation, but support and compassion. It is clearly related to belonging and processes of inclusion/exclusion. Thus being part of the gossip network involves paradoxical emotions of fear (danger of being gossiped about) and security (membership).

Gossip has temporal and spatial dimensions. It has been theorised variously as a means of resistance, control, constructing and maintaining collective identity, and as a 'safety valve' or tension releasing mechanism. Both this theorising of gossip and the way it is played out in the community are complex and fascinating, and in the following sections I will attempt to disentangle various threads of analysis, and present evidence from the Beulach data about the structure and operation of gossip in this particular community.

A good starting point for an analysis of this subject is Max Gluckman's seminal 1963 paper. He described gossip and scandal as among the most important societal and cultural phenomena to be analysed, and said that gossip "is part of the very blood and tissue" of community life (1963: 308). It is something that we all do, and has its own customary rules, trespass beyond which is heavily sanctioned. Gluckman argued that gossip and even scandal have important positive virtues: they maintain the unity, morals and values of social groups; and control competing cliques and aspiring individuals.

Being able to gossip is a hallmark of membership:

There is no easier way of putting a stranger in his place than by beginning to gossip: this shows him conclusively that he does not belong. On the other hand, if a man does not join in the gossip and scandal, he shows that he does not accept that he is a party to the relationship; hence we see that gossiping is a duty of membership of the group.

(1963: 313)

It is bad manners to gossip to strangers, and you are excluded from groups if you do not know enough gossip. To be able to gossip properly, a group member has to know not only about the present membership of the group, but also about their forebears.

In short, Gluckman's theory was that "gossip is not idle: it has social functions and it has rules which are rigidly controlled" (1963: 312). He presents gossip as to do with belonging, and control of group members, but also says that when a group begins to fail in its objective, gossip and scandal accelerate the process of disintegration.

Gluckman, then, sees gossip as a two-edged sword. Paine added to this analysis, that "gossip provides a 'wary' or informal and indirect sanction where one cannot risk an open and formal attack" (1967: 278).

More recent theories have portrayed gossip as social control, e.g.: "Gossip is directed, of course, against deviation. To this end it watches, anticipates and criticises...A very important feature of gossip in the traditional integrated community, therefore, is the considerable measure of agreement about what counts as transgression" (Brody, 1973: 153). Scott also argues that gossip reinforces normative standards by teaching participants precisely what kinds of conduct are likely to be mocked or despised. He adds: "We are

more familiar with gossip as a technique of social control among relative equals - the stereotypical village tyranny of the majority - than from below. What is less often recognised...is that much of the gossip, prying eyes and invidious comparisons in such settings is precisely what helps maintain a conformity vis-à-vis dominating outsiders" (1990: 143).

There is a danger, however, when focusing on gossip as social control, of portraying groups or communities as overly cohesive. The logical implication would be that gossip is functional and only exists in situations where there is extreme homogeneity of ideals and values. In their debate in *Man*, both Paine (1967) and Gluckman (1968) sounded a cautionary note against the dangers of treating 'We' groups as undifferentiated. As will be seen from the Beulach data, gossip continues to thrive in far more heterogeneous settings.

Munro's more recent survey of the literature (1996) came up with the following list of definitions of gossip's nature and functions: the power to verbally comment on and thus control other people's behaviour; the reflection on and negotiation of one's own behaviour; a pressure group bridging formal and informal politics; unification and affirmation of community values; control of aspiring individuals and cliques; selection of leaders and maintenance of group exclusiveness; and a pool of information linking people. In her view, gossip is evaluative and reflective; filters change; and tests and challenges ideals and values. Phillips (1986) adds to this that gossip is 'cultural longhand': dichotomous idioms such as local/incomer are 'cultural shorthand', and in the 'longhand' practice of gossip and conversation, people represent themselves and others less in dualistic terms and more in qualified ways.

The literature has a very functional approach in which gossip is portrayed as useful in terms of, e.g., a safety valve or indirect conflict resolving mechanism. What is often missing is a sense of its sheer entertainment value. As will be seen, this was certainly a strong factor in my own research, and related in this respect to humour, nicknaming and conflict. The only other research in which this is equally emphasised, to my knowledge, is that of Parman, about the west coast of Lewis:

When people gather information about others through gossip, they do not want information that promotes a compassionate understanding of who someone is; they want to control others, fit them into a category that strengthens their own position. Interaction is a constant battle, an exciting, humor-filled battle, in which information is both the weapon and the goal. Minimize information about yourself; maximize simplified interpretive categories about others.

(1990: 97)

Reputation Management, Collective Memory and Identity

Drawing on research in a setting not unlike Beulach, Goffman's theories (1969) emphasised self-contained, face-to-face encounters. For all its rules and potential pitfalls, a one-off presentation of self is obviously in most respects easier to manage than repeated encounters and presentations over time. Like gossip, reputations are a ubiquitous feature of social life, which can have an added force in the small community.

Emler and Reichler's (1995) concept of reputation management extends the idea of self-presentation, taking into account the temporal dimension and the likely nature of the audience. For people to have reputations, they have to inhabit communities possessing some continuity of membership, where individuals are linked to each other over time and through networks of mutual acquaintances, who converse about the deeds and qualities of other community members.

Emler and Reichler present reputations as cumulative, with new evidence as raw data which is interpreted, and fitted to the existing pattern. I would argue that in a small community, 'new evidence' is not straightforwardly raw or virgin - the whole way it is seen is coloured by already established expectations about that person.

Reputations are described as moral labels attached by communities to individuals, who can become trapped by such labels. However, labelling theory allows the labelled individual little agency in the process. Emler and Reichler's theory gives the individual more power. They argue that although established reputations can be difficult to modify and can suffer from neglect, reputations can be managed. To do so successfully requires: (a) making the right public choices, i.e., acting in ways consistent with the reputation to which one lays claim; (b) publicity - informing the right people of information to broadcast; and (c) repair work - 'putting the record straight' after lapses and accidents. In other words, individuals

have to be their own 'spin-doctors', adept at constructing acceptable interpretations of their behaviour and disseminating these through social networks in order to bolster or defend their image.

While "The small politics of everyone's everyday life is about reputations" (Bailey, 1971: 2), in an urban context there is more performative space. According to Connerton, "We are accustomed to moving in a milieu of strangers where many of the people who witness the actions and declarations of others usually have little or no knowledge of their history and little or no experience of similar actions and declarations in their past" (1989: 17). This is not so much the case in a village - what is known and unknown about a person leaves too small a gap for the performance of a role. The daily recounting of gossip combined with lifelong mutual familiarities are the means by which a village informally constructs a continuous communal history of itself. A shared memory is important to legitimate and sustain social order. Connerton goes on to say that to exchange a socially legitimate currency of memories, it is necessary for a certain amount of people and information to be known in common (this has obvious implications in situations of high in-migration).

This has been documented in other studies. For example, Emmett wrote that "Llan people see the people of their community in terms of places and see farms and cottages with families attached, and both people and places are always seen embedded in and embroidered by the history of Llan's past fifty-odd years" (1964: 10). This powerful, embedded history of scandal, jokes and gossip provided each inhabitant with a mental picture with depth in time. Parman adds to this that "It is difficult for people raised in the anonymity of an urban environment to imagine living in a setting in which you are continually confronted with the living memory (sometimes accurate and sometimes inaccurate) of your mistakes and failures" (1990: 102).

Some people get a harder time than others in this respect. This is certainly related to gender: there is a tougher model of ideal behaviour for women, and more backlash if you fall short of the ideal. It also seems that higher status professions have harder standards to conform to: e.g., if you are the son or daughter of a minister. If you are an incomer, or a member of what has come to be seen over time as a 'bad family', your actions are likely to be judged more harshly than the same actions from someone with an established good reputation (cf., Wight, 1993; Elias and Scotson, 1994).

Beulach Gossip

Gossip was of enormous importance in my research, in both positive and negative ways. More than two Beulach residents gathered in the same place inevitably speak almost exclusively about things happening or rumoured to be happening in the parish. At times, being gossiped about made my stay unpleasant (see Chapter Three). However, the ubiquitous nature of gossip meant that I could find out about people, their circumstances and pasts, without my questions seeming nosy and inappropriate (although, of course, determining what was accurate was always a problem and it was fascinating in itself, to map how stories changed and grew). This has been found by other researchers in similar situations (cf., Emmett, 1964: 6).

Interestingly, this world-view is said (by people living there, in a derogatory way, about Beulach in general or specific sets of people) to be typical of Beulach. I even heard people who professed to despise this trait joking about not being able to leave Bailemór for long in case something happened while they were away. If you telephone someone living there while you are away, they will volunteer 'the village news', and people from there, while away even for a long weekend, will ask 'and what's happening in the village?' after they have asked after their family. This is coupled with the fact that those in the parish generally actually visit or are in contact with a limited number of people (it was frequently commented on that I seemed to know personally and see a very large number of people), so your actual physical presence in the village is not really that crucial to knowing the news.

In Beulach, multiplex roles and a lack of formalised leisure activities are probably the two most significant factors when explaining the prevalence of gossip. People come into contact with other residents in a variety of situations that overlap: X may be your wife's second cousin, a fellow employee, and the treasurer of one of the committees you sit on. Hence, stories are always of some interest as you know the subject, or know of them, or know someone who knows them. I hear friends in Edinburgh discussing the goings-on in soap operas like *Eastenders* in a way very similar to that in which any gathering of Beulach residents talks about other Beulachers. People in Beulach will happily discuss and pass on stories about other Beulach residents they have never spoken to (cf., Parman, 1990: 97, for her amazement at the same phenomenon in Lewis).

There is a widespread feeling that, in a small rural community like Beulach, everyone *ought* to know everyone else, and did so at some point in the past (although this is clearly not the case judging by my oral history evidence on the isolated nature of crofting townships earlier this century). If a person is under discussion and someone present has not heard of them, they often seem discomfited, and some time will be spent trying to place the person (as in, 'you know, Sadie's Iain, that drives a blue pick-up, and is the uncle of Jane that works in the Stores; they live at Murach').

Angus Macleod carried out research in a similar Highland area, and found that there was an implication that everyone should know everyone else, and therefore should act as if they did - by exchanging greetings, for example. He found that in fact, many people did not know, had never met, and sometimes had not even heard of, other people living in the locality (1992: 139). This was certainly true in Beulach, and many people clearly felt uneasy about it. By the end of my fieldwork, some of my friends had almost turned this into a sort of game, where they competed with each other to dredge up little-known Beulach residents who I had not heard of.

This situation of a small population in which people can remain unknown to each other occurs through geographical spread and the concentration of services in Bailemór, Ardrhu and Inverness: there is seldom any need for residents in townships outside Bailemór to go to any of the other townships.

In the past it was not possible to see much of people beyond your township of residence. People created their own informal structures of leisure, as is the case across the Highlands and Islands. There was a tradition in Beulach of the 'ceilidh house', where men at least would pass their evenings with stories, news and gossip. A ceilidh house could become established by the presence of a radio or gramophone, or was simply just an open and sociable house within walking distance, when even the bicycle and the wireless were luxury items, and a trip into Bailemór was a big event:

A ceilidh was, say a few of us popped in here, but not like the old traditional, where they used to gather in people's houses and sing Gaelic songs, I don't think that happened here at all. It was just chatting. Y'see, there was always something happening. Y'see, there was no wireless, there was no television. Wireless were really two to a village, they certainly weren't in every house, not by a long, long shot. So people would pick up bits and pieces of news in the

papers, or somebody would have been to Bailemór and heard something happening [laughs] there was always something to talk about. And there was always, not exactly a village idiot, but there was always somebody who was getting in some sort of trouble. Hah. And he was the subject of conversation [laughing]. When he wasn't there-

(Johnny, born in 1919)

- Nothing's changed, there, then.

(Davey, his nephew)

As Davey points out, not much has changed in some respects. Even now, there is little by way of alternative sources of leisure and amusement. There is a mobile library that calls around the parish once a week, and a library in the Bailemór village hall one evening a week. There are occasional dances, ceilidhs, concerts and plays. There is a licensed café and the hotel bar, but they are not heavily frequented (for reasons discussed in Chapter Four). There are no theatres, no cinemas, no sports facilities of any kind, virtually no shops, no museums, no art galleries, and underemployment is high. There is now widespread car ownership, but this has not really increased visiting due to the concurrent developments of television, and the erosion of mutual dependence, e.g., communal working patterns.

It is little wonder that Beulach feeds on its own members for stimulus and amusement, in particular over the dead winter months. Two locally resident astute observers of Beulach life (both incomers of long standing) separately told me that they hated the period at the end of the winter. They both had very similar theories that really nasty scandals and upset seemed to happen in February and March when people were 'spoiling for trouble and excitement' after the long quiet winter, and before the busy summer season. Thereafter things would calm down until another burst of excitement around the Beulach Games at the end of the summer.

With regard to gossip, then, community exhibits two different temporal dimensions, the cyclical and the linear. Reputations and stories are built up over time. There is also a beat or rhythm to the year, which moves through cycles of lull and activity, resulting in what might be termed a seasonality of scandal. Life cycle stages are perhaps also relevant - at certain stages there is more time and energy available to gossip, e.g., Tebbutt notes in her

historical study of gossip that women in their 50s and 60s with time on their hands were characterised as those who were the worst gossips (1995:51).

Life in the Panopticon

Research in many different small communities has documented the all-pervasive nature of surveillance. Macleod and Payne (1992, and personal communication) stated that in their research area, it was hard to go unnoticed doing anything, as houses were strung out along the single track roads and there was an avid interest in what people were doing. Macleod said that life in such a community was often oppressive and constraining. Even off-road you could not be assured of privacy: Payne recounts how a crofter told them that it was always known if men were going 'courting', even if they visited houses not by road but over the hills under cover of darkness, as sheepdogs would hear them going by.

More commonly, in rural communities where private car ownership is high and public transport virtually non-existent, cars are used as a means of seeing who is where, and also for carrying out surveillance, by more extreme gossips, as will be discussed below. Not only makes, colours and registrations of vehicles are known, but they are often also identified by the condition they are in, or the known habits of the drivers (e.g., if there is more than one red van like that, who would be more likely to be on the such-and-such road at that time of night?). Gossip often begins with speculation about what a car is doing in that particular place at that particular time: has Fiona got a new job? is she having an affair? is she interested in buying that house? This has been well documented by other researchers (cf., Emmett, 1964; Knipe, 1984: 177; Schweizer, 1988: 66) and I had personal experience of it even after I finished my fieldwork. I left Beulach with all my belongings in November. Returning at the end of January for a long weekend, I went to the bar with friends. When I went to buy drinks, I was standing beside a man with whom I had only ever been on nodding acquaintance. I felt I ought to speak as there were only the two of us there, so I asked if he wanted me to give him a hand across to his table with his round of drinks. He said, no thank you, he was fine, and then announced that he had known I would be there that weekend as he had seen my car at a roundabout a hundred miles to the south, heading north, earlier that day.

Alisdair Maclean recalls that in Ardnamurchan, binoculars were ubiquitous, and often given as wedding presents. He states that "The extent to which remote communities are tolerable - viable, some would say - depends on an intimate acquaintance with one's neighbours affairs" (1984: 74). Visitors with no gossip would find their welcome growing thin.

This sort of atmosphere understandably results in many people feeling very oppressed. Not long into her own fieldwork on Lewis, Parman "realised how much people knew about each other and watched continuously for new information, and how aware people were of the others watching...I had dreams of large eyes filling the sky" (1990: 102).

In the course of my own research, several people drew parallels between living in Beulach and being in a goldfish bowl or a cage. On one occasion, I joined a deep sea angling trip organised by a skipper called Neil, to celebrate the end of his tourist season. We spent the whole day surrounded, as far as I was aware, by nothing more than gulls, sea and sky. We were taking a scenic detour on our way back when we overheard the Bailemór Harbourmaster on the boat's radio asking if anyone knew where we were as he wanted to know if his son (on the boat with us) would be back in time for tea. Another skipper promptly replied, 'yes, I saw them heading into Loch Ard half an hour ago'. Neil said wryly to no-one in particular 'oh, there is nowhere you are safe here at all'.

However, it is not in fact the case that everyone does know everything about everyone else: at a most basic level, some people were still unaware that I had moved back to Edinburgh, literally months afterwards. There is often a 'knowledge-divide' between residents to the north and south of Bailemór, and some (relatively uninteresting) stories remain quite contained within certain circles: e.g., churchgoers; fishermen, etc. Burnett (1996) found that on Uist, many informants referred to 'living in a goldfish bowl', and the working premise was that everything was public. She argues that while this obviously cannot be true, it is nevertheless important as it is an incredibly powerful popular perception.

Indirect Questioning

It is difficult to convey the incredible degree of interest in the goings-on of fellow Beulachers, however trivial they may seem. I moved from being amazed that (a) I had been seen, and (b) what I had been seen doing was considered worth repeating and speculating

about (e.g., parking my car in a different place in the village, having lunch with two middle aged female neighbours in an apparently deserted restaurant), to assuming that my every move was of interest. This all-consuming interest, however, is conducted in an obsessively indirect manner, where it is exceptional to be directly questioned about whatever it is that people want to know about. Just because people do not directly declare interest, it does not mean they are not interested, and in fact often means exactly the opposite. Likewise, in Ardnamurchan, "It was perfectly acceptable to acquire [...] information by stealth, [...] but it was generally acknowledged bad form to obtain it openly" (Maclean, 1984: 73), and Williams was told by a woman who had married a Gosforth farmer: "I don't know anyone in the village yet, and no-one speaks to me, but they all know the colour of my wallpaper" (1956: 168).

In Beulach, you can actually gauge what is being generally said about you by the total absence of anything related to the story from people's conversation with you. For example, when I was being gossiped about in connection with a particular man, I was able to work out fairly systematically who had heard rumours and considered they might be true by the complete absence of not only the man but all his relatives from any conversations or relating of gossip in my presence. Those who had heard nothing or had thought the rumours laughable continued to mention the family as they cropped up naturally in conversation, and as the story died down, the family were mentioned in my presence again by all.

Direct reference of any kind to a person involved in scandal is viewed as a *faux pas*. One elderly woman was horrified at herself when she asked a girl how her mother was managing after a recent operation. She went on to mention how well another woman was coping with crutches, and belatedly remembered that this second woman had scandalised the parish by 'taking up' with the first's husband some time previously.

Emmett wrote that in Llan, nobody could have or be suspected of extra-marital affairs without it being generally known, but people would never refer to such a thing when talking to the person in question: "If people are to live harmoniously with each other and, indeed, with themselves, they must pretend not to know half of what they do know about each other" (1964: 114).

The example of David's house illustrates these processes nicely. David's marriage had broken down a year previously, and his wife Ruth and their three children had left the village. A couple from the parish to the north, John and Fiona, had been lodging with David since then. In the spring, they started to look for a croft or house of their own. One sunny day, David and John decided to tidy up the garden and outbuildings, and were aware that one of the 'terrible gossips' had seen them at work and driven past three times in the course of half an hour, to check what they were doing. Later that day, John predicted to me that there would be a rumour that the house was going to be sold.

Less than a week later, David was asked by a woman of ten years' residence in the village, known for being 'outspoken', whether he was selling his house, and if so could she and her partner view it. She was very embarrassed to be told there were no plans to sell the house.

The following day, Lucy, a former lodger of David's, came up to the house to tell David that 'everyone' was speculating about his house being on the market. She had been having lunch with Margaret in the café, and as soon as she had left, another person also known as a 'terrible gossip' had approached Margaret and asked whether Lucy had said if the house was for sale. Lucy would not be approached directly as she would be viewed as too close to David and his ex-wife. Margaret had told the enquirer she did not know, and then used relating the fact that she had been asked as an opportunity to question Lucy about whether the rumours were true or not. Lucy just replied that she didn't think so, then went to tell David.

A fortnight later, John and Fiona heard from someone living in the inland area of the parish that they had been told by Kenny in Bailemór that the house was on the market. Although Kenny works with David on a fairly regular basis, he had never said to David that he had heard this story, or asked whether it was true, but was clearly nevertheless passing it on to others.

James C Scott points out that if each hearer of a rumour repeats it twice, then a series of ten tellings will produce more than a thousand bearers of the tale (1990: 144) - and that covers the whole population of Beulach. Of course, in practice, as has been seen, certain people will hear the story more than once, and others not at all.

In addition to the amazing speed with which news can travel, is the even more amazing way in which it is elaborated as it travels. Scott argues that this is not random: "As a rumour travels it is altered in a fashion that brings it more closely into line with the hopes, fears, and worldview of those who hear it and retell it" (1990: 145).

This is pertinent to David's story, firstly as the house is a very desirable one in terms of size and location, and without doubt several Beulach residents would be interested in buying it. Secondly, it is linked to the level of *schadenfreude* found in some Beulach circles (and elsewhere in the Highlands - cf., Payne on anti-achievement culture, mimeo). David and Ruth had bought the house several years previously against local competition, as return migrants who had both held lucrative professional jobs in England. Ruth was also the daughter of a local minister, and the children did well at school. There had been a strong undercurrent of glee when their marriage foundered a year before, and almost anticlimax when David continued to see his children regularly and was seen to be on amicable terms with Ruth and her new partner. It almost seemed as if people in Beulach were longing for a second instalment of woe, e.g., inability to keep up with mortgage payments: certainly much more exciting than a mere spring clean.

Susan Parman relates a similar story that was constructed round her during her fieldwork period. She stayed indoors all one day as she had a cold. In the afternoon a neighbour saw her and said that she had thought she was in hospital. Over the next few days, Parman worked out that a couple she did not know well had seen a strange car stopped at the roadside. They had driven past, decided it must be Sue's, and mentioned it to a neighbour. The neighbour told someone else, adding that they ought to have stopped as for all they knew, Sue could have had an accident. By mid-afternoon this story had bloomed to Susan dying in Stornoway hospital. Parman concludes that it is probably still referred to, "as in 'I remember when Iain got his tractor, it was a week after Sue's accident, when Mairi and Calum passed her by on the Barvas road, they always were an inconsiderate family'" (1990: 102).

People look for stories to reinforce what they think of others and what they feel ought to happen to them.

The 'Terrible Gossip'

Gossip is something that spreads and flows without a specific instigator:

"has no identifiable author, but scores of eager retailers who can claim they are just passing on the news. Should the gossip...be challenged, everyone can disavow responsibility for having originated it. The Malay term for gossip and rumour, *khobar angin* (news on the wind), captures the diffuse quality of responsibility that makes such aggression possible"

(Scott, 1990: 142)

Interest in others is considered natural. Not gossiping at all does not earn you a good reputation, but rather that of someone who is aloof and uninterested. When Munro (1996) lived in a north-east coast village during her fieldwork, her house was openly admired for its combination of privacy - no-one could see in - and its view of the surgery, village hall and main road.

However, there is ambivalence about gossiping and gossips, and a line over which it is not desirable to step. Like the label 'white settler', 'gossip' can be applied or not for reasons other than the actual characteristics or behaviour of an individual - i.e., your friends 'like a good crack', but someone you don't like or someone who has told stories about you is a 'terrible gossip'. Most ask, 'what's the crack?' and engage in gossip, but some go beyond this and become known as gossips. As was seen earlier (Tebbutt, 1995) this could be related to being at a life cycle stage in which the necessary time and energy to engage in gossiping at an extreme level are available. Occupations are also an important factor: in Beulach, it is said that skippers are terrible gossips as their job involves long periods at sea, sitting in the wheelhouse talking to other skippers on the radio. Anyone whose job takes them into many houses, or into contact with many people (home helps, researchers) has the potential to become a valuable source of information to others in the parish. One of the classic occupations fitted for gossiping is that of 'postie'.

Williams wrote of Gosforth: "When an event of an unusual nature occurs a postman will take two and a half to three hours to complete a round that would occupy his counterpart in a large town 30 to 45 minutes at most" (1956: 163).

One of my elderly interviewees recalled Katy Ann, the postmistress of Pollan, thus:

She was very much madam [...] and she knew everything that was going on. If you were a girl that left, [...] went to Canada - she knew your handwriting, she knew my handwriting, 'ah! he's writing to Catherine!' - and she knew a lot, and she was...[...] [on a Sunday evening if we ran out of water] my mother would say, "look Kenneth, if you go along quietly to Uncle Alistair's well, drink your belly full of water, I'm quite sure that God will not be angry that a little boy is getting a good drink of water. But if Katy Ann *sees you* she'll be over here on Monday morning giving me a lecture, and saying, you're letting your children run wild, going to the well on a Sabbath day" - so that was not right you know, that was not right.

(Kenneth, Family K)

The current day postman for Bailemór and south Beulach, Robbie Stewart, sometimes seemed like a parody of the village postman rather than a real person. When I re-visited Beulach in June 1997, a middle-aged female friend said to me, "He's getting more and more straight to the point with the gossip, I think he really believes it's part of his job to deliver the news along with the mail".

As the mail only arrives at the village post office around midday, many people are in at the time it is delivered to them. In some senses, this is a useful social service accompanying the post, especially for elderly people living in outlying townships. The postie is used as a source of information about events - partly officially as the Bailemór Registrar is the postmistress, so announcements of funerals are pinned up in the post office.

One example of how news is carried along the gossip network by means of the postie is that of the death of Hector Kerr. Hector lived only about a mile from my house, but as he was confined by arthritis to a room on the ground floor at the back of his house, which was not visible from the road, I would certainly not have been aware of his death if I had not been told about it. At 7.30pm one night I was phoned by my landlady's daughter-in-law Trisha, who said Robbie the Post had just told her that Hector had been found dead, by neighbours who had popped in to visit him sometime between six and seven o'clock that night. They had not known what to do and had called Duncan, a mutual friend in the next township. Robbie's mail delivery had coincided with this call, so he bore the news onwards in his round (Trisha's house being some six households south of Duncan's). Robbie eventually arrived with my mail about 9pm, having been delayed by retelling the story to the ten to

fifteen households he would have had to call on between Trisha's house and my own. In the interim, I had been phoned by other neighbours who wanted to make sure I would tell both my landlady (away in Inverness) and my next door neighbour, an English second home owner who had been friendly with Hector.

The next night when I passed Hector's house, all the lights were on. My landlady told me this would probably be for 'the coffining' (similar to a wake). When Robbie came with the post, he confirmed that this was indeed the case, as he had seen the minister's car amongst others at Hector's house.

It is an interesting fact that those who have the worst reputations as gossips in Beulach are quite often male, or are couples known for being nosy. Certainly there is no assumption (as noted by Tebbutt, 1995) that the gossip is always a female figure. Probably the most derogatory remarks I heard were reserved for male gossips, who seemed to have nothing to do but watch other people and carry tales about. There is possibly a gendered element whereby it was felt to be 'unmanly' to behave 'like an old fishwife', so men who did were more looked down upon for gossiping than a woman would be.

Paine (1967) states that a gossip usually endeavours to receive more than he gives. I do not agree - in Beulach there seems to be a pleasure and power derived from knowing and imparting, particularly in being the first with the news. However, the combination of being malicious, often inaccurate, and blatantly desperate to be the first to impart news, is castigated. To a degree, "the gross scandalmonger overreaches himself and is hoist with his own slander" Gluckman (1963: 313).

Alec, a man in his sixties, is particularly known for carrying out a near-nightly 'surveillance routine', often accompanied by one of around four other male friends, and is also to be seen driving backwards and forwards through Bailemór frequently during the day. He begins his evening routine by going to a car park from which you can see the pier and part of the council housing. He then drives through the village, slowing down while passing houses with frequent visitors, parties or scandals. He circles the pier area and then drives back, sometimes also leaving the village on the north and south roads for a short foray. He ends at another car park with a good view of the council houses, and then the cycle begins over again, often several times in one evening.

I found out about his surveillance routine when I mentioned to friends that Alec (who I had never spoken to as he was always in his car, but who clearly knew who I was and always waved in passing) had passed me three times in less than fifteen minutes while I was unloading some furniture from a van at the house of two single men in Bailemór. In fact, this furniture belonged to my next door neighbour, and I had offered to help deliver it to one of the men in Bailemór. My friends then told me about Alec's 'surveillance routine' and said I would probably soon hear that I was moving in with the men I had given the furniture to. As a precautionary reputation management strategy, I told the story of being observed during the furniture delivery to a few other people, all of whom verified that Alec was a 'terrible gossip'.

However, one of the aspects of 'terrible gossips' that I found particularly intriguing was that while they were looked down on and laughed at (Alec was variously described to me as a 'bitter man', a 'sad bastard' and a former alcoholic who had been sacked in disgraceful circumstances), and people say you cannot believe their stories and speculations, they are nevertheless still used as sources of news and scandal. Some of the very same people who had derided Alec later told me sensational news and when I asked how they knew such a thing, said 'Alec told me'.

There is thus a paradoxical situation where the person known as a 'terrible gossip' is mocked, despised, used as an information source (as has been seen in the story of David's house) and feared. The latter means that they are often spoken to with friendliness and charm. Munro (1996) also noticed that in Balnamara, people worked very hard to be friendly to others, as this helped spare them from being gossiped about badly. One young married woman in Beulach told me nothing terrible had yet been said about her, and added 'I often wonder when it's going to be my turn'. Parman found that in Lewis, fear of what others will think of you was a more immediate symbol of law and order than state level symbols, police and courts (1990: 99). Likewise, in his discussion of domination and terror, JC Scott (1990) argues that nothing in fact may have happened to the individual personally, but it is the knowledge or certainty that it *could* that is controlling.

Scott comments that "The power to gossip is more democratically distributed than power, property and income, and, certainly, than the freedom to speak openly...Some people's gossip is weightier than that of others, and, providing we do not confuse status with mere

public deference, one would expect that those with high personal status would be the most effective gossipers" (1990: 142). This is certainly true in Beulach, where although you might ask a 'terrible gossip' for information in the first instance, you would not be surprised if it was of questionable accuracy. However, if you have managed to achieve and establish a good reputation, your information is more likely to be regarded as reliable, and you could probably in fact effectively create and disseminate scandals about an enemy.

Games and Resistance

In fact, people do play creative games using the gossip network. It has already been argued that gossip provides entertainment: often of a combative, adrenalin-fuelled or malicious kind. Parman refers to the 'gamesmanship' of gossip: "The giving and concealing of information is like a jousting match" (1990: 104).

One of the earliest treatments of gossip was Colson's discussion of the Makah. Colson's analysis was later applied by Frankenberg (1957) to his study of a Welsh village. She wrote:

certainly the malicious statements of their fellows give rise to hatred and to unhappiness and to a retreat from public view, but from the zest with which they recount their experiences in the field of slander, it is apparent that they have developed this type of behaviour into a game...

(quoted by Gluckman, 1963: 311)

Similarly, Munro wrote of one informant: "Janette always tip-toed into her house when she had been out late so that her neighbour wouldn't hear" (1996: 300). One of Tebbutt's interviewees recalled his shopkeeper father and a friend deliberately talking of a five shilling gift given out by the Town Hall to see how far and fast the story would go - within half an hour, hundreds were there (1995).

It is clear from the above and certainly in the Beulach case that gossip is not only a source of information and a barometer of community dis/approval but that creating, spreading and controlling certain stories is done deliberately and self-consciously in its own right.

A particular delight is taken in making those viewed as 'terrible gossips' look foolish or get excited over nothing.

As has been seen, the postie has considerable power in the gossip network in terms of what he sees and where he can carry new stories to. Two months after leaving Beulach for Edinburgh, I returned for a New Year holiday with friends who live in a very secluded house in the south of the parish, some six miles from Bailemór. Hogmanay is a period where hospitality and visiting is of great importance, at least in the ideal if not actual (informants frequently complained that sociable visiting by neighbours was not what it used to be - as far as I could work out, this was partly to do with their increased age, and partly true, due to a reluctance now to walk long distances, and an increase in checks for drunk driving).

I had decided I would like a few quiet days before embarking on a round of visits, particularly since the time of year would entail drinking 'a dram' rather than a cup of tea in every house. However, I did not want it to be generally known that I was in the area, in case someone felt offended that I had not called on them. This was relatively easy to manage as the house I was staying in was surrounded by trees and had no neighbours. The postie was the only potential loophole in ensuring a few days' privacy, so I asked my friends if they could clear a space in one of their garages for my car, as I knew the postie would recognise it. So, for several days my car was hidden away (joined by myself one day when caught on the hop by the postie's early arrival!). After I had had a few days' break, I began calling on friends and neighbours. The first I visited was my former landlady. She asked if I had 'been up for long' as she had expected me earlier but had not heard yet that I was in the area. I confessed that I had in fact been around for several days, but had hidden my car in the garage as I didn't want Robbie the Post to tell everyone. She started laughing and told me that just before Christmas, the handbrake on her car had failed while it was parked in her daughter's driveway, and it had been badly damaged by running off the drive and into a tree. The first comment of her son-in-law and son (Emler and Reichler's (1995) spin doctors in action) was that they should hide it before the post was delivered, so it spent a week in their garage while insurance arrangements were made.

People who gossip delight in the sort of all-seeing, all-knowing power they have, so it becomes a game and a pleasure to thwart them: prevent them from being the first to know something; or feed them a ridiculous story that gets them laughed at when they tell others. Another typical example of this is Graham and Diane Mackenzie's story. Their neighbour

across the road, Agnes, was a married woman in her sixties well known as a gossip. Graham and Diane became increasingly irritated by her overt nosiness, which included passing comments to them on things she had observed, even the contents of their washing line. After seeing her a few times with binoculars trained on their bedroom window, they constructed a sort of marital farce with the help of a distant cousin of Graham's. This involved Diane and the cousin being in the house together; the cousin (in his underwear) being 'surprised' by Graham coming home, and hiding in the wardrobe; and so on.

Making a gossip think something exciting is going on is a fairly common form of game and does not have to be so elaborate. For example, late one night Kenneth borrowed a friend's car to visit his cousin Thomas, as his own van would not start. He found Thomas's driveway blocked by the stationary car of Colin and Lisa, incomers in their forties viewed as idle scandalmongers. As he had heard recently they had been spreading rumours about his business, he asked somewhat abruptly for them to move and sped past. First thing the next morning, Colin turned up at Thomas's house with the pretext of borrowing some oars. Thomas was irritated by having to get up for this ruse, so instead of asking Colin in as he normally would, he shut the house door so Colin could not see inside and tried to look furtive as if there was still something strange going on from the night before.

Another small action which caused general amusement was when the *News of the World* stand was taken one night from outside the paper shop and put in the front garden of Sandra, a woman in her thirties viewed as a terrible scandalmonger.

This type of 'resistance' seems to serve merely as a sort of small satisfaction in frustrating what is seen as odious behaviour.

Apart from taking gossips 'down a peg or two', stories are sometimes created to tease or fool people who are not held in high esteem, e.g., the case of Gregarious Dick (a self-inflicted nickname for an incomer who introduced himself to his neighbours thus 'my name's Dick and I'm very gregarious'). He is viewed as having grand plans and little sense. When he announced he was hoping to run holidays for boys with behavioural difficulties, and needed a suitable residence, one of his neighbours, Roger, jokingly suggested the estate owners' lodge, empty for much of the year outside the shooting season. Roger was amazed to hear a few days later from the factor that Dick had taken the idea seriously and tried to negotiate a

lease. Roger related this to friends, Stuart and John. Stuart suggested John mentioned to Dick that Stuart's business was collapsing and he might be selling up. Within two days, Dick phoned Stuart early one morning to ask whether he could buy his premises. When Stuart said they were not for sale, Dick reiterated that if Stuart were ever to need money or a quick sale, he was to phone him first.

This type of incident seems purely to be a kind of cat-and-mouse game: it is extremely unlikely that Dick would ever be told or find out that his credulity was being tested, for the amusement of other Beulach residents.

Good Behaviour as Form not Content

One of the interesting aspects of gossip in Beulach seemed to me that apparently gossip and scandal was not so strongly related to what you actually do, as to who you are, how you do it, and whether you are found out. This is related to 'knowing the score' - examples can be drawn from poaching; belonging/in-migration; drinking; sexuality; and the establishment and management of reputations.

This argument has not been made in the literature to date, with the partial exception of Parman - after being gossiped about herself, she spoke to the other man involved in the rumours. "I said I had learned that truth is irrelevant; appearance is all. Of course, he said; if you maintain the proper image, you can do anything you want" (1990: 103).

In Beulach, I had noticed when listening to people speaking about a man having an affair with a married woman, that while many clearly thought it was wrong, a lot focused on the shameful recklessness of the couple. People seemed more scandalised by the fact that they attended concerts together, and that the woman parked her car near his house overnight, than by the fact that they were having an affair. After this, I became more sensitised to how people discussed the morality of those who were currently the subject of gossip and scandal. In nearly all cases, more castigation was heaped on the heads of those who appeared not to care what people thought of them, and blithely went on with their 'scandalous' behaviour paying no regard to community opinion.

I would suggest that this in part is linked to what was traditionally a heavy Presbyterian emphasis on maintaining appropriate behaviour, in particular strict Sabbatarianism. For

many this would be wholehearted, but from my interview data, for many it was clearly a question of not incurring community disapproval. Sabbatarianism seemed to be more in the community's eyes than God's eyes. For example, people talked of going fishing in the hills on Sundays, as long as you could not be seen from the road with a rod; sneaking undercover to wells to draw more water when they ran out; and more recently, only hanging up your washing if your house was secluded, and not using the lawnmower as the sound travelled so far.

Betty, who married in to Bailemór in the 1960s, told me that as a young wife she had said to her mother-in-law that she and her husband Sandy were going to a dance in the village hall. Her mother-in-law had said how could they think of such a thing when Sandy's grandfather had only been dead for a month. Betty had been angry as Sandy's grandfather had died peacefully in his nineties; and she and Sandy had young children and hardly ever had the chance to go out together; but they ended up not going to the dance as Sandy knew it would cause such a fuss. What upset Betty particularly, though, was that she knew (and knew that her mother-in-law knew about it too) Sandy's sister Isabel had just been to a 'black tie' dinner dance in Inverness.

Complaints were also voiced in my hearing by some younger people about the 'image is all' approach of ministers. The Church of Scotland minister refused to marry a local couple in church as it was known by all that the young man was in the habit of staying at his girlfriend's house overnight. However, it seems you can be married in church if you stay with your girlfriend but sneak home at five o'clock in the morning.

Survival

Surviving gossip and scandal is clearly done, and simply has to be, for day to day life to continue. Every so often I would unearth amazing scandals in the past of now ever-so-respectable residents, that must have been sensational at the time, but were obviously rarely referred to now. Given the amount of inaccuracy in prevailing gossip, I often wondered what degree of truth was in the older tales and how much was 'mud sticking' - something said at the time, repeated so often, and added the authority of 'history', and never mentioned in the presence of the subject, who might then attempt to correct the tale. Things blow over but are never entirely forgotten - when I was a subject of rumours, I was told not to pay

attention as it would die down as soon as the next bit of exciting 'news' came along, and also told that it was inevitable that there would always be some people who would view the story as The Truth. This is unsurprising given that measures of validity seemed to be: hearing something for more than a week; from several different sources; or from someone close to the subjects of story (i.e., anything but ask the subject of the story for their version).

As Parman said of members of her Hebridean community, "They know that whatever they do (or are thought to do) will be used to link them with the past and the future; the history of community interaction is forged in the white-hot, transforming fire of gossip" (1990: 97). However, even the most scandalous stories and bitter rifts seem often to heal to the degree that those involved will speak civilly to each other - although often only after a long cooling-off period (in two cases I knew of, over two years) during which protagonists will not even acknowledge each other in passing on the single track roads. This takes us to a more in-depth discussion of conflict in Beulach.

Conflict: Not so much Face-to-Face as Back-to-Back?

The literature about conflict in the small community places a heavy emphasis on restraint: conflict structured in such a way that pressure is released through the safety valve of gossip and rarely (ideally, never) allowed to build up into open and full-scale explosion.

I will give some examples of this approach and then compare and contrast the Beulach data with 'the small community' as modelled in the literature.

Gluckman wrote that in such a community, open fighting is a crisis:

"Instead, differences of opinion are fought out in behind-the-back tattle, gossip and scandal, so that many villagers who are actually at loggerheads, can outwardly maintain the show of harmony and friendship. They remain a community, despite the verbal cut-and-thrust in the dark"

(1963: 312)

In the Welsh village studied by Frankenberg "Gossip was also used as a vehicle through which criticism and conflicts could be expressed without ripening into open hostility" (1957: 21). However, this was a method of airing public grievances in private - thus gossip

critical of personal behaviour was not normally an effective means of social control, as it was not revealed to the person in question.

Frankenberg's study was one of the earliest to explore the role of ties, complex and cross cutting, in minimising divisions.

Also in a Welsh village, Emmett identified three main factors in settling disputes: the existence of a unifying 'cold war' against the English and officials; the fact that everybody knows everybody; and the fact that sooner or later, for one purpose or another, each person in the parish will be allied with each other, though in other circumstances or for other purposes they may be opposed (1964: 85).

From his mid-70s fieldwork in Clachan on Lewis, Mewett (1982) also developed a theory of how cross-cutting ties 'kept a lid' on conflict. The management of disagreements was achieved by avoidance of direct confrontation. Complaints were not made to the face, but this was more effective than Frankenberg had thought, as someone was selected to complain to, who would relay the message on to the 'offender'. Control was thus achieved through the subtle expression of communal disapproval. The placing of messages within the local network is very significant for derivation of a consensus within the community about who, if anyone, is in the wrong. Therefore the resolution of disagreement can be backed by the moral authority of the community. Disagreements that flared into open disputes were difficult to resolve in Clachan - people were reluctant to talk about them, even if as much as 50 years on. Forsythe (1980) describes similar traditional conflict avoidance from her 1970s Stormay data.

More recent work than these studies has reached similar findings. Macleod wrote of Fearnbeg in the western Highlands that "conflict is commonplace, but it is 'contained' in such a way that it does not upset the overall balance of social life" (1992: 147). The best known work, however, is probably Cohen on Whalsay's "conventions of restraint" (1987: 159). He argues that these underpin Whalsay's social coherence. Whalsay people refrain from discussing much of each other's business; find overt criticism embarrassing; and try to minimise the possibility of future conflict. He states that "Such is the grapevine of local information that people rapidly discover who might be annoyed or offended by some contemplated course of action, and they avoid it" (1987: 88). The fact that there is such a

grapevine suggests to me that Whalsay people do in fact discuss each other's business, but are probably very careful about who they discuss it with, as is generally also the case in Beulach. Cohen states that Whalsay people almost take pride in this constraint, viewing it as a condition of life on Whalsay. Certainly, in Beulach being indirect, discreet and tactful (or 'pussyfooting' and 'two-faced', depending on your perspective) is often implicitly linked with belonging as it is very much part of the model of appropriate behaviour.

Newby said of English villages in the past, that the inhabitants "formed a community because they had to: they were imprisoned by constraints of various kinds, including poverty, so that reciprocal aid became a necessity" (1985: 154). Beulach interview data shows that mutual dependence did exist in the past: sharing ploughs, etc. In present-day Beulach, however, one cannot straightforwardly take this approach to the explanation of conflict.

Bowen's writing is now quite old but is one of the few that documents the existence of non-functional, non-ideal behaviour:

People here lived so closely together that almost every movement of one irritated another. Yet they were so dependent on each other that continuing a feud or indulging a spite was a luxury taxed with personal disadvantage.

(1954: 208)

In fact, I could construct a model of conflict avoidance in Beulach, backed up with many examples, such as the lengths different community groups went to, to avoid booking the village hall when another group wanted it, or holding events too close together.

A lot of the time, people do act and speak with great consciousness of the potential for giving offence and the desirability of avoiding this ("pussyfooting around the issue" as one recent incomer tetchily described it to me). However, this is only part of the story. There are also frequent disagreements which are conducted relatively openly, from one-off rows to long-running feuds. This has been seen already in Chapter Six. It would be tempting to portray this as to do with different styles of grievance-airing and conflict between polarised 'local' and 'incomer' styles (cf., Forsythe 1980), but again in the Beulach case this would be overly simplistic.

Certainly, antagonism was felt, during the course of my stay, towards 'pushy' incomers dominating committee procedures in some organisations, and 'trying to change things'. This, however, also has a great deal to do with class: the incomers in question being professional middle class people at home with and unintimidated by agendas, public speaking, etc., as are some of the locals who have sat on committees for many years.

Moreover, open hostility occurs with regularity between all types of people. There are local/local, local/incomer and incomer/incomer disputes. Outside opponents are often necessary before cohesion and 'community spirit' is achieved: e.g., people in Bailemór joke about how it took an anti-landlord campaign for north Beulachers to get on, 'after years fighting amongst themselves about things like where to have the sheep fank'. This is linked to the way people can slide between different identities and selectively mobilise insider/outsider status: united in their disapproval of what an 'incomer' has done may be people of objectively similar demographic characteristics to the 'incomer', along with 'real locals'.

A more humorous conflict began recently between two neighbouring businessmen. Mark is married to a 'real local' and they have lived in Beulach for the last ten years. Sean and his non-local wife have also lived in Beulach for ten years. Sean was born and brought up elsewhere, but his mother is 'of Beulach stock' and has retired there.

Sean was planning to extend his restaurant with a conservatory. Mark objected on the grounds that it would block light into his business premises next door. This is still ongoing, but a spin-off was that when Sean recently put up a large photograph of a film star enjoying a meal in the restaurant, Mark responded by putting up a sign saying 'X does not shop here'. Over the next few days, these burgeoned: e.g., 'X does not sleep here' in the hotel staff quarters; 'X does not drive my car'; etc. Sean is perceived as arrogant and self-satisfied - and of course, has been very successful, which alone is sufficient to have him taken down a peg or two.

Aside from out-and-out fights, there exist more low-lying conflicts, some entirely masked in civility. An example of this is what I came to call the Bailemór Baking Wars, whereby a particular set of women who were mainly middle-aged and middle class churchgoers, vied with each other to produce baked goods and soup for coffee mornings, sales of work,

meetings, and so forth. This always seemed to result in too much being made, and considerable ill-feeling about whose scones were displayed most prominently, eaten, or left over (cf., Whitehead, 1976).

However, in general, Beulach is a lot less restrained than the rural communities of the literature. As we have seen, the 'terrible gossip' lacks virtually all restraint. Among people in general, personal dislikes, boycotts and feuds can rumble on for months if not years. Lack of restraint does however have negative effects. Conflict between office bearers in the same organisation can make its running erratic for all concerned, with a direct impact on Beulach social life. For many trades there is only one practitioner, and if you fall out with them you lose access to services: e.g., the paper shop boycott discussed in Chapter Six; or a row with the engineer could mean forfeiting boat maintenance. While I was living in Beulach, at least one person lost their job indirectly through a non-work related dispute. More simply, day to day life is made awkward if you overtly fall out with someone, as you will keep running into each other.

I would argue that the reason such open conflict exists, and why there is less restraint in Beulach than heretofore documented in the literature, is linked to the following factors. Cross-cutting ties of kinship, church, etc., are not as strong as in some other studies. This could simply be due to the fact that many of these studies were carried out as long ago as the 1970s (e.g., Mewett, 1982; Parman, 1990). In Chapter Eight it will be seen that these cross-cutting ties probably did exist in Beulach earlier this century, but there has been substantial in-migration over the last 30 years. Moreover, Beulach peoples' lives (in line with national rises in living standards) have become increasingly privatised and affluent, with a limited need for the interdependence which results in constraint.

Lastly, it should not be forgotten that life in Beulach can lack stimulus, particularly over the winter season, and that for some people at least there is simply a need for excitement, which is generated by conflict and scandal.

Humour and Nicknaming

Much of Beulach humour is mocking, sardonic, rapier sharp and quick (cf., discussion of Highland *schadenfreude* in Maclean, 1984). I felt I never got up to speed with repartee (not

so important in a woman, anyway), although I did improve over 18 months' practice. Humour is also dependent on common knowledge and understandings both of current news and past happenings, and of the characteristics of those involved. This was brought home to me when I went to a Bailemór ceilidh with three friends (all English and living in the south of Scotland) who looked completely blank as I and all around laughed at the speeches.

A typical example of this type of public joke is one from a quiz night in the village hall, attended by two hundred Beulach residents. One of the sections was geared towards the children present, and a question was asked about naming the third puppet on a television programme. The MC read out the other two names, one of which was Tiny, and a member of the audience instantly shouted 'Ian Thomas' as the third name. To understand why this convulsed the crowd with laughter, you have to know that (a) Ian Thomas is the Harbourmaster, (b) the assistant harbourmaster's nickname is Tiny, and (c) working in the Harbour Office is viewed as a very lightweight job, with an extremely undemanding workload. I understood the joke as I knew Tiny and on an earlier occasion, when he had a bad back, had heard him being teased about getting it from falling asleep in a draught at his work.

This style of humour is echoed in research findings from similar communities. For example, Cohen writes:

Much of the joking in Whalsay conversation and stories would be quite unintelligible to the outsider; at least, what causes hilarity among Whalsay folk could be only mildly amusing to outsiders. The reason is it tends to rest on exclusively local referents, usually on the publicly allocated personae of Whalsay people. It may be used as a means of reinforcing the conventions of egalitarianism, by puncturing pomposity or the assertion of the self; or it may simply celebrate a person's known and publicly acknowledged traits.

(1987: 194)

Apart from having to be aware of people's pasts and character traits, it is usually essential to be involved in the gossip and rumour network (and to be aware of wider current affairs, as nicknames often relate to media figures). Jokes can be quite oblique, and their meaning can pass you by if you have not heard the latest scandal (cf., Gluckman, 1963: 314). An example of this is taken from the committee meeting of a Bailemór fund-raising organisation, where I was taking the minutes. A social function was being planned, and

someone asked, "who can we ask to pick up the drink ordered?". Someone else said, mock-innocently, "How about Davey Clachaig". I was about to minute this when I realised that most of the committee members were starting to laugh, and putting forward 'real' suggestions. As I had not been in the village that day, I had not heard that Davey had crashed his car the night before, presumed drunk as it was on the single track road and there was no other vehicle or animal such as a deer or sheep involved in the crash. The joke was particularly barbed as the car was only insured third party, and Davey and his partner were without the financial means of replacing it.

Although the joke was basically *schadenfreude*, it was made in such a way that this was not obvious unless you were cognisant with the rumours. According to Crawford:

people can use humour to convey messages that they can then deny, or develop further, depending on how the message is received by the hearer. Because it is indirect and allusive, the humour mode protects the joker from the consequences that his or her statement would have if conveyed directly in the serious mode.

(1995: 134)

It should be remembered, that leisure facilities are extremely limited in Beulach, and being 'good crack' is highly valued, and has been so traditionally, in the stories and banter of the (masculine) ceilidh house. There seems to be almost no point at which malice becomes unacceptable, providing you are also funny (joking about truly devastating bad luck is an exception, especially if the person is well-liked). Humour, regardless of other functions, is a good thing, and an essential ingredient of a successful night out.

Whitehead notes (1976: 192) that in the pub environment of the Herefordshire village in which she carried out research, joking also served to demarcate statuses and reaffirm the importance of status differences. Brief and pointed repartee served to remind people of uncomfortable transgressions, and to signify that the general company was aware of other events in the targeted individual's life.

In Beulach, I did not often see this degree of direct hostility (although people who had been drinking were less guarded). Poking fun directly at people is generally done in quite a veiled way, or at least is always sufficiently ambiguous that the recipient or victim could always be assured it was a friendly bit of fun rather than intentionally nasty. Hence, I am

saying that in contrast to the literature, in Beulach there seems to be more conflict, and less use of barbed humour directly to people to 'keep them in their place'. There are two possibilities here: that writers such as Whitehead had more of an outsider status (see Chapter Three) that meant they were less aware of conflict; or that in Beulach, because there is the possibility of directly falling out with people you dislike, there is no need to restrain yourself to vicious joking with them in the pub.

Nicknames are also used to provide entertainment, and characterise people according to their reputation. This has been documented in other Highlands and Islands research, for example on the west coast of Lewis, where, "in an environment of mutual watchfulness and interdependence, the development and use of nicknames provide a major source of amusement. In providing amusement they reinforce in-group solidarity and encourage circumspect behaviour" (Parman, 1976: 102).

In all older Highland and Islands fieldwork, the limited pool of given names and surnames is a major factor in nicknaming. Mewett (1982) notes three categories of name: a formal English one, a formal Gaelic patronymic (e.g., Iain Tormod Chalum - John the son of Norman the son of Calum) and a nickname for daily use. Mewett argues that nicknames provide the means whereby people are able to conceptualise the social position and personality of each person. The most common type of nickname in his Lewis fieldwork was the forename followed by an epithet, which could be personally descriptive, or refer to place of origin, genealogical, or occupational. Some were just neutral or descriptive, and some were penetratingly derisory and accurate. In the latter case, the person sometimes had two names.

Dorian's research (1970) in East Sutherland during the 1960s also found that a limited number of formal names made nicknames or 'by-names' a functional necessity. At the same time, they were "likely to be very apt, with a trenchancy relished by those who use them" (1970: 315). She found that many nicknames were highly offensive, and appropriate use of the offensive varieties demanded an intimate knowledge of the communities' social structure. She points out that, crucially, learning by-names is different to learning how to use them. In/offensiveness is not a quality always inherent in the name - it may vary with the identity of the speaker and the designee. An incomer was called Jim Darling after his wife was overhead calling him 'Jim, darling', and thereafter the family was known as the

Darlings, which other newcomers tended to assume was the real family name, and use directly to them. By-names were often intended to take the bearer down a peg or two, and then became a genealogical collective.

In 1990s Beulach, there is a fairly wide range of surnames, and many of the younger children have quite exotic names. Distinctions are still required between some names, in particular combinations involving Matheson, Macleod, Mackenzie, Iain, David, Kenneth, Margaret and Katharine. For example, distinctions will be drawn using croft or occupational tags, such as Davey the post and Davey Clachaig. Patronymics survive in an attenuated and largely anglicised form. Mary Niall Mór is the daughter of Big Neil. Two women called Katy Morrison are distinguished by husband name, viz., John's Katy and Sandy's Katy. Hughie Seumag is named thus after the diminutive form of his father's name, Seumas. Since he and his wife are formally Hugh and Jane Matheson and there are others in Beulach with those names, they are generally referred to (and call themselves) Hughie Seumag and Janey Seumag.

However, nicknames are clearly relished and their survival is regardless of functional reasons in general. Nicknaming flourishes in Beulach, as it is amusing and is linked to belonging to Beulach and to certain groups within Beulach. As Parman states, "Naming is a boundary-creating and maintaining mechanism" (1976: 111).

Different names are used by different people in different settings. For example, the Bailemór bank manager is called Iain Macleod or Iain Clashdhu (croft name) in the northern part of the parish where his family come from, and John the Bank or John Macleod elsewhere. Willie Morrison is known by other fishermen and Bailemór people as Willie Windows since he wears glasses, unlike most fishermen, but others refer to him by his croft name. People have varying numbers of nicknames through their life, which go in and out of use, and other people use the name by which they first knew you (cf., Emmett, 1964). One man whose real name was Angus John Morrison was variously known as Angie, Angie Roddy (after his father Roddy), AJ, and Peter Pan (due to his inability to act like a 'proper' adult).

In Beulach, as most people went to only a few primary schools with quite a wide age range in each class, childhood names tend to last into adulthood: like Jenny Grapes, whose packed

lunches stood out from the norm. A high incidence of nicknames seems to run in some particular families, such as Parahandy (which I thought was because he looked like Parahandy, but apparently originated as he got his captain's certificate sailing in the Clyde and had never been on the open sea) and Mrs Parahandy, and their children Toby (real name Shona) and her brother Pucket (really Gary, and named after the once-famous popstar Gary Pucket). There are three adult brothers in another family still known as Bertha, Titch and Pitkin, although nobody seems to know exactly why. Names from early childhood also survive: e.g., Peanut, Bush and Wow. People are also fairly often given names in childhood that relate to their parents' occupations, like the Ardrhus (see Chapter 8) and Flora Fencer and Katy Captain (which probably were helped to 'stick' by their alliterative qualities, see below). These can also transfer to spouses, particularly from men to women, e.g., Morag Nurse's husband's mother was the district nurse.

Some names in Beulach are in such common usage that it took me a while to realise their meaning and status: I thought at first that Kenny Town was called that to distinguish him from his workmate, a Kenny who was native to Bailemór, but his surname was in fact Towne. Conversely, someone I had thought was called Colin Mann is actually 'Colin, man' from his habit of ending every other sentence with 'man'.

Many names have this quality of ironic humour. John Peerie (a word meaning 'very small') was of course a big man, and the building firm Bruach quickly became 'Burach' (in the Gaelic dictionary, 'turning over earth' but used locally to mean upheaval or a mess). Kenny John's real name is simply Kenneth, but there are so many Kenny Johns (including his father) that he was called that too for a joke, and now most people think it is his real name. A man who commonly said of various jobs 'I'll just do it myself' was known as Myself, and Sidney the river watcher was called Hissing Sid.

Like the latter, characters from stories and figures from the media often get incorporated into nicknames, and often for people who are perceived as 'above themselves': hence two friends and workmates known as Tweedledum and Tweedledumber; the Cinderella Sisters (two attractive women who are very aware of themselves as attractive); the Flying Doctor (a new doctor who got a jeep with flashing green light); and Daktari, the last factor (from a television show of the time, as he was said to behave as if he was part of the Empire and Beulach people were natives). Beulach's token New Age travellers, who appeared slightly

over a year ago, have recently become known as 'the Swampy and his family'. The original meaning of names sometimes passes out of knowledge, as has happened to Davey Lumumba who is a river watcher and named after his father Alistair Lumumba, also a watcher. I found out by accident that Patrice Lumumba was the first Premier of Zaire, but no-one in Beulach seems aware of that now, let alone why Alistair was given the nickname.

Successful nicknames often involve alliteration, assonance or plays on words. The plumber was called Johnny Next Week, as that was when he always promised to come. Shortly before he retired, this was upgraded to Johnny Next Year. The Fishermen's Mission Superintendent is usually referred to as the 'Mission man' and as the current incumbent's name is Kevin Mann and he is seldom seen out and about on the pier like his predecessor, he is known as Missing Mann. Phil the Father was a central figure in a major Bailemór scandal of more than ten years ago (which is still referred to as 'better than soap opera') in which he sired a few children by different women in a short space of time. One of the local ministers is known as Frothy Fred.

Scott has stated that "most acts of deference are routinised actions toward the holder of a particular status" (1990: 24). Nicknames for figures such as factors, ministers and doctors distinguish attitudes to the status and to the individual - e.g., one might defer to a minister out of a generalised respect for ministers, and hold this particular man in contempt. Many of the nicknames discussed above focus on the weaknesses of people in positions of power.

Poaching

The basic Highland attitude to poaching is often summed up by the translation from Gaelic of a traditional proverb:

A wand from the wood, taken at will,
A fish from the stream, a deer from the hill;
Why grows this gap 'twixt Cot and Hall?
These three are rights God gave to all

(quoted by Alisdair Maclean, 1984: 71).

Crucial here is this long-standing, mostly unspoken (although indirectly obvious in approving humorous anecdotes) feeling of moral right, underpinning various forms of activity that are quite plainly illegal in the eyes of the state. This is related to attitudes to drink consumption; drink-driving and speeding; and the 'black' fishing of the Scottish fleet, none of which seem to be viewed as particularly opprobrious (cf., Emmett, 1964).

Mewett (1982) found that in Lewis, hostility to government and officialdom - expressed through poaching, and fiddling grants and subsidies - was viewed as 'one in the eye' for officialdom and acceptable as it did not hurt other villagers.

The enormous symbolic backdrop of the Clearances serves as an unvoiced justification: poaching as redress for centuries of oppression; the revenge of the 'little man'. The poacher as a high status figure and the place of poaching stories has parallels with the Br'er Rabbit tales told by slaves in the American South (Scott, 1990).

Of course, a justifying sense of grievance does not stem from the 19th century alone. According to Angus Macleod:

"The impression - in some ways justified - that crofters are poorly treated acts as a justification for making the most of government benefits that are provided. Manipulation of subsidies or other gains made at the expense of some authority carries no moral censure: it is legitimated by the view that the benefits of the wider society are absent from the place, partly because of the way it is treated by central government. Outwitting bureaucracy is therefore a symbolic gesture of taking for themselves part of what they feel they have been denied in the first place".

(1992: 125)

In Beulach, there was amusement tinged with bitterness and resignation, when the Poll Tax was levied and the Council had to find something to provide in return - as it turned out, a 'wheelie bin' and weekly rubbish collection (at the time, several people showed me their bins as 'what I got for my Poll Tax').

Of course, while poaching is an acceptable, traditional and amusing type of illegal behaviour, it is not open to all. As Emmett remarks, "anyone who is Welsh goes poaching. When I say anyone, I mean men only, of course" (1964: 69).

In Beulach, poaching (and 'black' fishing) are almost entirely male dominated, although women are often complicit - e.g., they will know where their spouse is (or think they do - I have been told poaching is used as acceptable cover for affairs); or allow men to get worms from their garden late at night, to use as bait. I do know of a few women who have been on one-off poaching trips (accompanied by boyfriend or son-in-law) to see what it was like. On the whole, though, active players on both sides of the law (and those individuals who are simultaneously on both sides, i.e., estate workers who poach) are men. Poaching is virtually a rite of passage for young Beulach men, or has been until recently: men from the age of 30 upwards have poached in their teens, but fewer do now. This is because there has been a simultaneous and related increase in organised commercial poaching of both salmon and deer; the effectiveness of estate surveillance (including the use of radios and 'night light' infra-red binoculars); and the penalties for poaching. The last generation of landowners and factors were more figures of hatred: relations with the current factor are much improved, and the estate allows the local Angling Club to fish the salmon rivers for a few days each year. The few locals who do poach on a larger scale often have debts to repay, e.g., large boat loans.

It is said that both poachers and watchers (river bailiffs) do it for 'the buzz'. Poaching has simultaneously a feel of wildness and illegality, and a complex governing structure of tacit rules understood by both sides, apart from those who do not 'know the score'. It involves interesting nuances and delicate patterns of what is and is not allowed. Some people known to be poachers or to have poached in the past get jobs monitoring poaching - and obviously know all the likely spots so could really cramp poachers' style if they chose. Some poachers sometimes officially fish the rivers with estate permits. While doing so they may however use illegal bait (worms rather than fishing flies). River watchers who are liked and are viewed as doing the job properly might work long hours crawling around in the dark and yet do it at 'prescribed' times and in established ways. e.g., indignation was expressed to me about the new practice of having two watchers to a van so that one could be dropped off somewhere and picked up later (rather than the presence of a blue estate van obviously signalling that the watcher was about, as previously).

In the past and currently, estate employees have themselves been involved in poaching - shepherds, ghillies and even gamekeepers.

The estate staff have a good idea of who poaches and who has done so in the past. All is conducted with ritual civility unless someone oversteps the mark - as happened most memorably some fifteen years ago when one teenager received a jail sentence for a trigger-happy killing spree in which he shot dozens of stags.

Vignette of a Poacher: Fergus Macleod's story

Things have tightened up since Charlie [the main river watcher] stopped drinking, and the estate brought in more people from outside. Hissing Sid takes it really seriously. One time I went up the river at 4am with my brother-in-law, and Sid came out the bushes, dressed in camouflage. He said, 'you're up early, boys'. We just said, 'not as early as you' and carried on walking, because there's a loch above the falls where you can fish legally. So there was nothing he could do.

If I catch a salmon, I usually hide it, so that I'm never caught with a rod and a fish at the same time. I go home with the rod in the car, and then later I go up on my [motor]bike for the salmon. Charlie knows that's what I do, because he used to have sheep and one time he was up on the hill bringing them into the fank, when he saw me collecting a salmon on my bike. He ran down the track after me, I thought he was going to give himself a heart attack.

I didn't get caught that time, but I have been. It's not much of a deterrent, the fine's cheaper than paying for a beat on the river, and the police give you your rod back. When I was younger, I used to get caught at least once a year, with Calum [friend and neighbour], and called into the factor's office and cautioned. It's fine if you're not too greedy and selling fish commercially.

Some of the watchers poach too. And once I hired an estate boat to put out a[n illegal] net. When I took my girlfriend fishing, I phoned to ask for a beat, and they gave me a knock-down price. I didn't tell her it was official, she wanted to poach a salmon.

Last night, I just went up to get worms from Sadie's garden. Charlie must have seen my car going past and thought I was heading for the river, because I saw his van passing when I was in the garden. We all watch for each others' bikes and cars. I felt like going up to the river and telling him to go home to bed and not waste his time crawling around in the dark and rain and midges on the riverbank; I was just getting worms.

I also spoke to two maintenance staff about working for the estate and poaching. In their assessment, the estate had gradually realised that local people who lived and worked in the area could not be asked to do the poaching patrol or work as a water bailiff. Now there are five or six watchers, who generally sleep during the day and are out at night, and nobody really knows who they are - so as a system it works better. Watchers, like Fishery Officers at the harbour, move around regularly as it is hard to keep doing the job properly once you

have developed social ties. After speaking to two seasonal watchers, I mentioned to a couple of friends, separately, that I had found the watchers a bit odd. Both (no doubt biased as poachers in the past) said weirdness was a job requirement for watchers: you did not want to employ people that would fit in too well and get too friendly with the locals. They had to like anti-social hours and creeping about in the dark.

Despite this, the maintenance workers thought Charlie (who came to Beulach as a small boy when his father started working for the estate) does his job as well as anyone could. When I mentioned another river watcher who lives in the area all year round, they replied 'but he doesn't know the score', and one of them added half-jokingly that he was English too. The man in question has a much more confrontational attitude, which means people do things to him like put sugar into his petrol. This would never happen to Charlie, who 'knows the score'. Charlie is quiet and discreet and does not upset people, but does the job well in that he is always around on the river bank.

However, not long after the estate workers told me that the factor was phasing out local employment, another local man, Hughie, was offered the job of skippering the poaching patrol boat. I asked Hughie why he had been given the job, and he told me it was due firstly to his competence with boats, and secondly to his reputation as a poacher in his teens. He thought that the estate would (rightly) have assessed that he would know all the places where nets would be laid. Hughie thought he would manage the difficulties of the poaching patrol by speaking to a few people he was friendly with who poach, and warning them what he would be doing. He said it was understood by all including the factor that it was greedy or careless poaching that was to be prevented, e.g., people leaving nets out for days on end.

In fact, Hughie did encounter some hostility at the Beulach Games Dance from a couple of younger men who poach. This was deflected by him pointing out that he had not actually been out in the boat even once all summer.

What seems to be crucial, then, is not being blatant: whether in the way you poach, or in the way you pursue poachers. Scott, in his discussion of the everyday negotiation of power, states: "It seems to matter little...that...violations of official reality are widely known among subordinates. What matters, apparently, is that such behaviour not be openly declared or displayed where it would publicly threaten the official story" (1990: 51).

Conclusion

Theories about gossip all agree that it is related to membership of groups. Earlier theories emphasise 'rigid rules' governing gossip, and community agreement about what constitutes transgression from appropriate behaviour (e.g., Gluckman, 1963; Brody, 1973).

While gossip certainly involves the invoking of normative standards, there is a tendency for the literature to portray an overly cohesive model. At a logical extreme, this would mean that gossip would only exist in communities with a high degree of homogeneity in terms of ideals and values. I have argued that this is not the case. Gossip is rife in Beulach, even though it is no longer (if, indeed, it ever was) a 'unified traditional community'.

The importance of gossip remains high as it is used as a 'cultural longhand' (Phillips, 1986) in which people represent themselves and others. People make these representations over time and in different ways, such as 'spin doctoring' their reputation (Emler and Reicher, 1995) and playing games.

The latter is part of gossip's entertainment value, which is largely missing from the literature. In Beulach, people gossip about those they only know by sight: goings-on are watched, discussed and speculated about in much the same way as characters in long-running television programmes. The low level of personal contact between many people in Beulach was true in the past, as townships were geographically isolated from each other. It is still true, despite widespread car ownership and better roads, as the concentration of services in Bailemór and larger towns to the south means there is little reason for Beulach residents to visit other townships.

In the past and currently, 'good crack' is highly valued in Beulach. This encompasses gossip, nicknaming and humour in general. Poaching is also done by locals on a small scale 'for the crack'. Beulach humour relies on local referents and knowledge accumulated over time. Common features are the use of anecdotes, irony, alliteration, and a veiling of hurtful allusions.

Indirectness in general, for example, never questioning a person directly about the truth of rumours pertaining to them; or indeed never asking directly about topics which I would not previously have considered 'sensitive' (e.g., the asking price for a house) is a strong feature

of Beulach life. It is related to belonging and 'knowing the score' in that directness is often viewed as tactless and inappropriate behaviour.

In this ambience of covertness, gossip spreads and develops rapidly in line with people's values and what they would wish to happen to the subject of the gossip. Key figures in the spread of gossip are viewed with ambivalence. They are used as a source of news, listened to as they are 'good crack' even if inaccurate, and often talked about in a derogatory way.

'Terrible gossips' lack restraint, a characteristic which has featured prominently in the literature about conflict avoidance in small-scale communities. Along with indirectness, restraint is part of the 'local' model of appropriate behaviour in Beulach. It is related to the attention given to appearances - the form of behaviour in the public eye. This model of restrained conflict is still apparent in Beulach, for example in women's rivalry over baking. However, there is also a significant degree of open conflict. It is not an ideal situation to fall out overtly with someone, but it certainly happens. This was apparent not only from my own observations of conflict, but from what Beulach people said about conflict in Beulach. Conflict is often vicariously enjoyed: it leads to ongoing gossip; and people watch for developments and to see whether the protagonists are on speaking terms.

This sort of surveillance is widespread in Beulach. Again, it is entertaining for the spectators. As has also been documented by other researchers (e.g., Munro, 1996; Macleod, 1992; Burnett, 1996), surveillance is felt to be all-pervasive and oppressive by Beulach residents. Surveillance, appropriate behaviour, games and resistance are all involved in the practice of poaching, a symbolically significant pastime in Beulach.

This chapter has described and analysed what Scott has called "the infrapolitics of the powerless" (1990: xiii): poaching, gossip, storytelling and jokes. These are salient features of everyday life in Beulach. The next and penultimate chapter focuses on one particular Beulach township, in order to link the experience of living in Beulach now to social change and migration over time.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Township of Ardbeith

FIGURE 5: MAP OF ARDBEITH

- house
- △ chalet
- caravan
- shack/outbuilding
- └ ruin
- crop number
- crop boundary
- road
- driveway

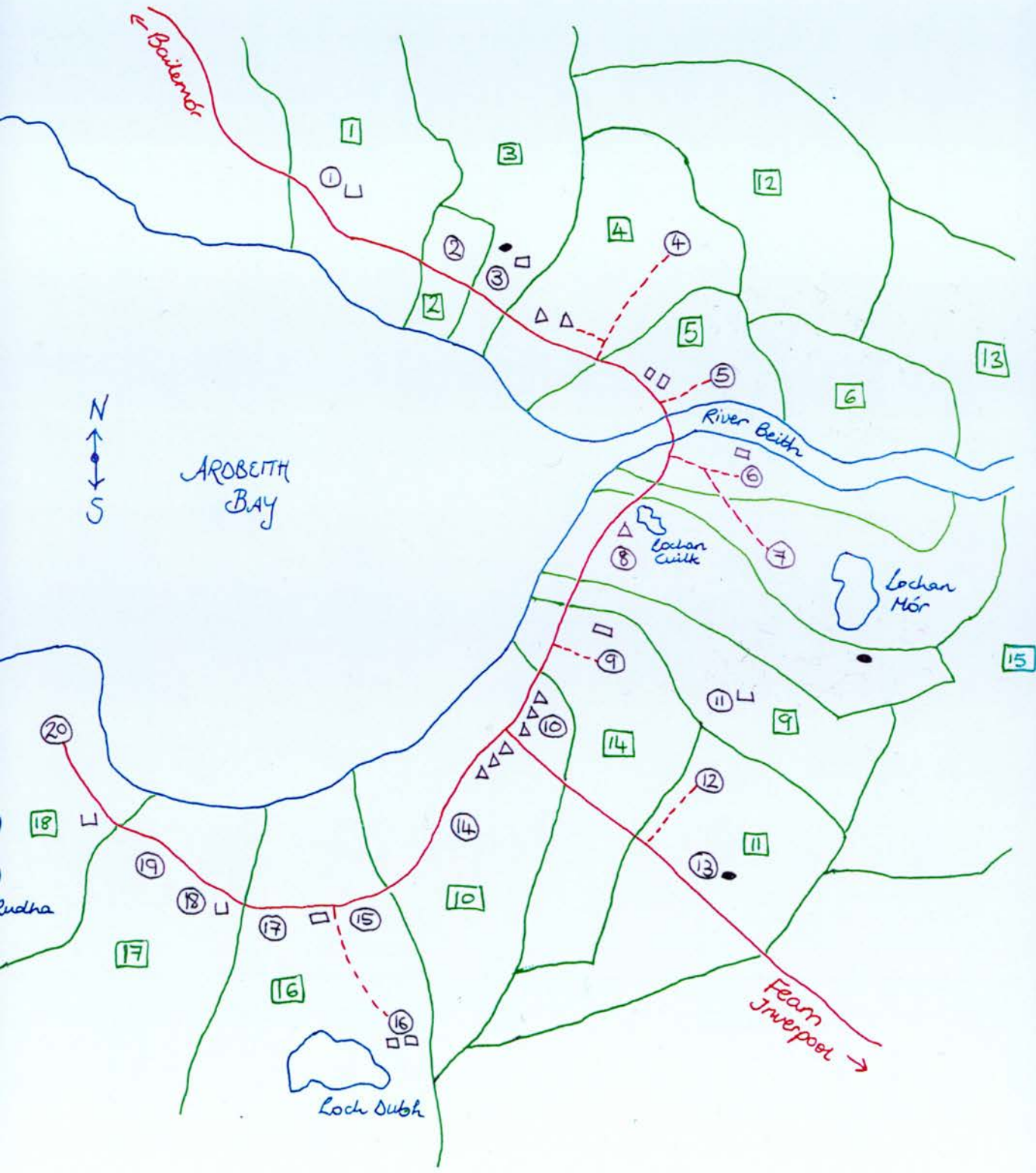


FIGURE 6: LINKS BETWEEN CURRENT ARDBEITH RESIDENTS, A

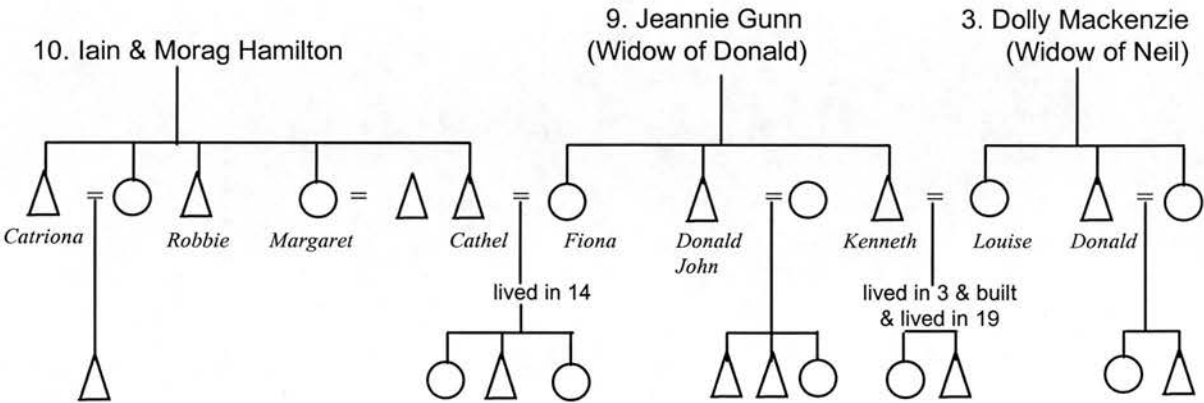
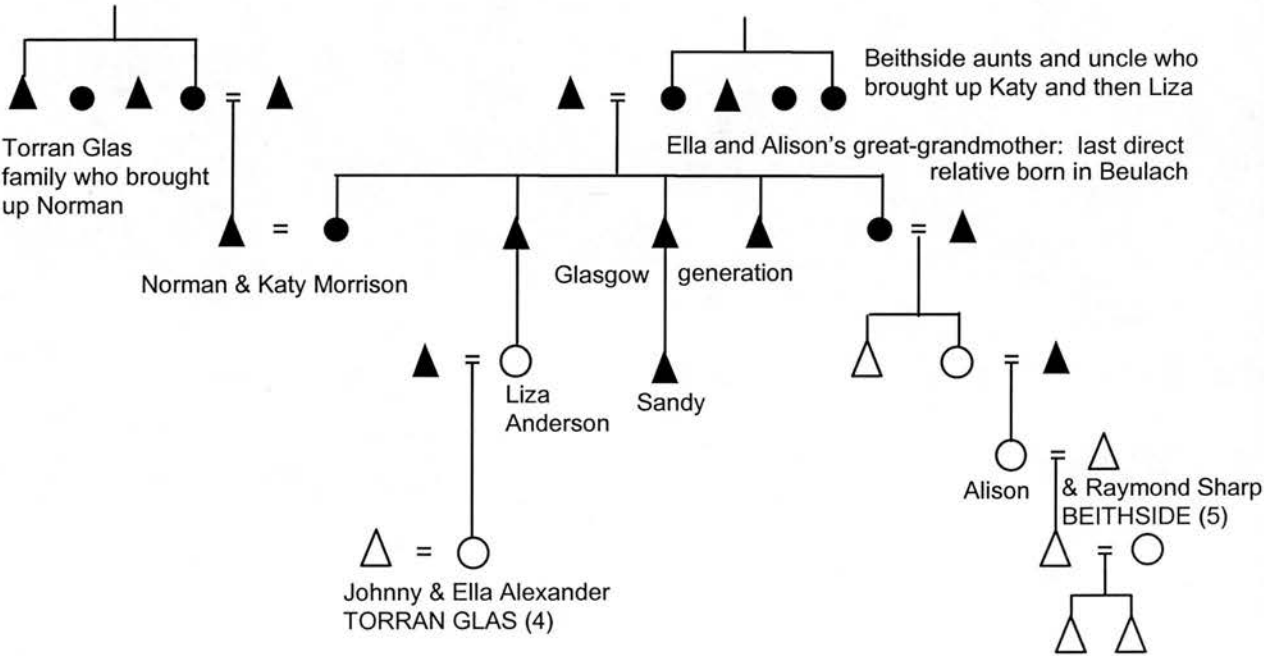


FIGURE 7: LINKS BETWEEN CURRENT ARDBEITH RESIDENTS, B



Introduction

In the preceding three chapters, we have moved from life history accounts of Beulach and related migration decisions, to discussion of current day issues of belonging, in-migration and gossip. The material has covered a long timespan and a wide geographical area. In this chapter, I wish to complement and draw together the previous three by focusing on the experiences of one particular township.

Ardbeith is a microcosm of migration patterns, social change and continuity. An examination of it illustrates recurring themes of the thesis: in- and out-migration; kinship and marriage ties; belonging; occupations and land use; housing, lifestyles and values; and the interweaving of gossip and 'truths'. Figure 5 is a map of the township, showing the location of buildings and other features mentioned. Figures 6 and 7 show links of kinship and marriage between some current day Ardbeith families. There is also a table of the twenty buildings discussed, and their occupants, in the appendixes.

I begin this chapter with a brief discussion of the methods used to obtain the data. The township is then dealt with building by building. This section is followed by summaries analysing the material and drawing out various themes across the township as a whole: tourists and 'summer visitors'; belonging, incomers and kin; migratory careers; housing; and the experience of living there.

Methods

This chapter draws on information gleaned from a variety of sources: the Register of Sasines; taped interviews; specific questioning of householders and elderly parishioners with previous township connections; and fieldwork data from conversation, tales and gossip.

I had hoped that the Sasines would yield more detailed information regarding dates of improvements, transfer of property, etc., to compare with informants' accounts. In fact, this was largely not the case (as discussed in Chapter Three) although, as will be seen, some useful comparisons can be made.

To protect the privacy of the individuals concerned, the name of the township and its location within Beulach have been changed. More thorough anonymising seemed necessary, so the layout of the township and certain distinguishing topographical features have been altered. Likewise, individuals and families have been given pseudonyms, and certain dates and other details in their biographies have been changed in order to blur their real identities.

House by House

Heading out of Bailemór down the coast, the houses are strung out like beads along the single track road. In fact, you pass through the townships of Clashbeag and Drumalten before you reach Ardbেith, but it would be hard to say where one ended and the next began if it were not for the road signs announcing place names in English and Gaelic.

The houses of Ardbেith cluster loosely round a bay, more open at its northern end, but with a curving southern promontory that protects it from the worst of the winter storms. At the northern end, the road from Bailemór descends past the first few houses to the flatter land surrounding the estuary of the River Beith, where a few small rowing boats are still kept. At the end of this flat stretch, the road divides into two. If you take the fork to the left, you turn inland and climb again to Fearn, the last township in Beulach before the road heads south to Rhudach and Inverpool. The fork to the right is marked with a 'no through road' sign. It climbs away from the sea past several houses and then down again to end at a house by the shore.

Travelling from Bailemór, the first house (1) you reach is a holiday cottage belonging to Murdo Mackenzie, which is still referred to by older parish residents as "Kenny Sheenach's", after its previous resident, who died in the 1960s. The meaning of Sheenach, if there ever was one (see Dorian (1970) for a discussion of semantically empty names in Gaelic) is now lost, but it is remembered by the current owner of the house and a few other long-term residents who knew him, that Kenny Sheenach came from the inland Beulach township of Torbeag, and married in to his wife's croft in Ardbেith. He had worked previously in Glasgow as a tram driver, and after settling in Ardbেith, ghillied seasonally for the estate.

Just down from the current house are the foundations of another, possibly a byre or an earlier house. (1) itself was a very typical croft house, of the type known in many parts of the Highlands and Islands as 'white houses' to distinguish them from the earlier 'black houses' (cf., Parman, 1990). It was 'one and a half' storeys with small windows facing away from the sea, and a slated roof that would previously have been corrugated iron or asbestos. Many people in Beulach combined a loft conversion with re-roofing in slate, and later added back kitchen extensions or porches.

Kenny left the house and croft tenancy to Murdo and Shona Mackenzie. Murdo grew up in Tigh Cuilceach (8), where his sister Peggy still lives. Murdo left Ardbeth as a young man in the 1940s to work in Glasgow, where he met and married his wife Shona. They returned to Beulach in the late 1950s, and had planned to live eventually in Ardbeth. According to Murdo, Kenny said he wanted to leave them the house and croft, and they had paid him for the house, but as Kenny then lived until he was nearly 90, Murdo and his wife settled in Bailemór. They let out the Ardbeth house as a holiday cottage, having upgraded it in several stages, most recently with a conservatory extension facing the sea.

It is axiomatic in Beulach that older houses are located and designed with an eye to shelter from prevailing winds, while new houses and extensions or renovations of old ones maximise scenic views. Most of the houses in Ardbeth are recorded in the Sasines as having received small improvement grants in the 1950s and '60s. There are some larger sums in the 1980s. For example, in August 1985, Murdo Mackenzie was given a District Council grant of just under £4,000 for upgrading house (1).

The cottage has been let out since the 1970s, often to 'regulars'. In quiet periods over the winter, the Mackenzies' younger son and his family (who live in Inverness) often come and stay in it. Murdo Mackenzie and his sister Peggy (8) are the tenants of three crofts between them. Their parents grew crops on some of this land, but it is not now used. The Mackenzies allow other Beulach crofters to keep some livestock on it from time to time.

A hundred yards down from Murdo's cottage is house (2), Camas na Beith. This has been the Matheson family house since it was built. The estate records show there was certainly a croft there in 1870. In the 1880s, they record Robbie Matheson's widow as living there. The croft attached to this house currently is little more than a strip of bedrock, as she was

not able to work the land herself and it was arranged that other men in the township would have the land and see that she was provided for. Her son Roderick inherited the house and croft, and lived there with his wife Alexandrina and their two children, John Hugh and Alexandra. John Hugh emigrated to Canada to work, but returned to look after his parents when his sister died young.

When John Hugh returned, he married Jessie, a girl from the central belt of Scotland whom he had met while she was holidaying in Beulach before WW2, and corresponded with during the war. They lived in Camas na Beith for the rest of their lives. For a short while, Jessie ran a shop in Bailemór, but gave this up to nurse John Hugh's parents (who were still living in the house with them) until they died.

By all accounts, John Hugh was an intelligent but somewhat feckless man and the Mathesons' life was not materially easy. John Hugh had a road maintenance job, and they also got a cedarwood hut (known locally as a 'shack') erected beside the house, so they could live all summer there and let out the house to visitors. At various stages this century the house was made into two storeys, and a kitchen extension and porch added, but the only date known now is that the porch was built in 1964.

Their nephew Kenny John McAlister was brought up in England by his mother, who was Jessie's sister. Kenny John says his memory of Jessie is that she was:

always on the go cooking and making cups of tea, frying fish for visitors. They had virtually no money and were always feeding people and giving them whisky. It must have been hard for Jessie.

After John Hugh died, Jessie lived alone in the house until her own death some ten years later (in the mid-80s). As they had no children, she left the house to Kenny John McAlister, and the shack to Fiona, the daughter of Jeannie Gunn at house (9). Despite his name, Kenny sounds very English and until very recently lived in England and spent holidays in Ardbeth, leaving the house standing empty for much of the year. Having spent many years fantasising about living full-time in Beulach, he took early retirement a few years ago and succeeded in selling his house in the south last year. Once the dreamed-of move became imminent reality, he seemed to be facing it with some trepidation. It is still early days for him as a full-time Beulacher, and he is currently keeping busy by getting

involved in local voluntary organisations. His partner is still working in England and spends holidays in Ardbেith.

Immediately adjacent to Camas na Beith is (3), Dolly Mackenzie's house. Dolly came from Shetland to work in the Bailemór Hotel and married Neil, a local mechanic. Neil's uncle Sandy, and his father before him, had owned (3). Sandy's brother possibly built Ardggarve (16) although there are a few versions of this story.

In the early '70s, Neil pulled down the old stone house at (3), which was gable end on to the sea and had a corrugated iron roof, and built a two storey cottage with picture windows overlooking the bay. He and Dolly lived there when their two children were small, but after Neil died suddenly, Dolly moved back into Bailemór.

Dolly rented out the house and a caravan behind it to tourists. Her son Donald is now the tenant of the croft (number 3). Her daughter Louise married Kenneth Gunn, from house (9), ten years ago. They lived in (3) during the period in which their first child was born, while they built house (19). After they moved into (19), Dolly continued to rent out house (3) during the summers. When Kenneth and Louise sold (19) to the Forsters, they lived for a winter in Dolly's house in Bailemór, and she lived in (3). Now she is back in Bailemór and letting out (3), although it is sometimes used as an 'overspill' for visiting relatives of the Mackenzie and Gunn families.

Next to Dolly Mackenzie's house are two Scandinavian style chalets, which belong not to her but to the owners of house (4), Torran Glas, who are also tenants of crofts 4 and 13. Torran Glas is almost entirely hidden from view from the road, only its chimneys visible between two hills. It is reached by an unsurfaced track. It is lived in by Johnny and Ella Alexander, who moved into it as full-time residents in 1983. They both came from Glasgow, but Ella has kin links to Ardbেith (see Figure 7) which is how they came to inherit the house. When they moved up to "escape the rat race", they decrofted part of their land in order to build the chalets. These are rented out from Easter to October, and managed by Ella, while Johnny worked first as a postman and then as a council handyman.

Torran Glas was the house in which Ella's great uncle, Norman Morrison, lived. He was from near Ardhrhu but his parents died while he was a child and he was brought up by his

uncle Tormod and aunt Nan in Torran Glas. He married Katy from Beithbank (5) and worked as a postman. Another informant who grew up during the 1920s recollects:

there was no regular income of any kind coming in to any of the houses here, the postman was the only man with an annual, regular wage here. He lived round at Beithbank. Old Katy's husband. There were previous postmen who also had that as a regular wage and they were really well off.

Norman and Katy lived most of their lives in Beithbank (5), apart from a few years looking after Norman's uncle Tormod after his aunt Nan died and the old man was alone in Torran Glas (4). Katy hated it as it was off the 'main' road. Women went for peats in the banks above Fearn and Ardbeith and walked back by Beithbank, stopping for a cup of tea and a chat. People did not 'drop by' at Torran Glas, and so after the old man died, Katy and Norman moved back to (5), and (4) was rented by the Bailemór doctor. He got an extension built on it, which residents thought he was going to make it into a surgery, but this never came about.

Many people think of Beithbank (5) as the home of 'old Katy', as she lived a long time after Norman died. She is viewed as one of the 'real old locals now dead and gone', and very few realise she was born in Glasgow. Her mother was from Ardbeith and was working in Glasgow as a servant, where she met and married a policeman from Islay in the later 19th century. They had five children, and she died young, so Katy was sent up north to be brought up by her aunts, when she was about 10. She learned Gaelic and by the time she was old most people thought she was a 'born and bred' local.

Katy's brother got married and stayed in Glasgow. Ella's mother Liza was one of his children, and she too was sent up north from 1919 (at the age of 9) to 1928. When Liza first arrived in 1919, her great aunts and uncle were still alive and she lived with them and her aunt Katy. Later, another child, Sandy, whose parents were dead, was sent up to stay. Liza went on to school on the east coast, and then to teacher training college in the south. She was a teacher in Glasgow and got married there, but returned on regular holidays with her husband and daughter Ella. Sandy, however, remained in Ardbeith all his life, and 'was the son Katy never had'.

The Beithbank house (5) itself was only built in 1936. It was built on Katy's croft, and was her own house. When Liza first came up to Ardbeith, they were living in the Beithbank 'shack'. Her great uncle Iain told her it had been there for a hundred years, and there had been a house at Torran Glas (4) for as long if not longer. Alison Sharp, current resident of (5), says it seems the old Beithbank buildings were certainly there at the 1841 Census. Torran Glas had been a single storey cottage, but when Katy and Norman married, their best man was a joiner, who made the stair for them. Down at Beithbank, the shack was a room for living in and an adjacent byre. Later, Katy got the byre changed into a bedroom. She had the Beithbank house built to take in boarders. After the war she let it, and stayed in Torran Glas for a while. After that, Katy and Norman lived in the Beithbank shack during the summers while she was letting the bigger house, then moved into the house for the winters, until they got older and the move became too much trouble. They then lived in the shack all year round, until they got ill, when they moved back into Beithbank as it had a better bathroom and was larger (relatives had come up to take care of them).

Ella Alexander and Alison Sharp's mothers are cousins, with strong kin links to Ardbeith, but the last person in their family actually to be born in the area was their great-grandmother. Alison has been coming on holiday to the area since 1945, and has lived full-time at Beithbank for nearly three years, since she and her husband took early retirement from their jobs in Edinburgh. As for most of this century there have been links between the families of (4) and (5), there is a little path overland between the two, but the two branches of the family no longer speak to each other due to a dispute over inheritance.

After the driveway to house (5) is a bridge over the River Beith. There are two small rowing boats pulled up on the bank by the estuary, belonging to Angus Ross (12) and Mary Macleod (15). Immediately after the bridge, there is another road to the left, leading to house (6) and the Strath Shop. This is almost directly opposite house (5), but is so hidden by a small hill covered in birch trees, in the crook of the river, that it is almost invisible from (5) and from the road.

The house at (6) is now lived in by the Stewart family. Chrissie Stewart was born in Beulach: her mother was from England and her father from an old Beulach family. After school, Chrissie left Beulach to train and work as a nurse in the central belt of Scotland. In the early '80s, she and her husband Peter, formerly a civil engineer, returned to Beulach with

their small children, and bought the house and Strath Shop from the O'Neills (7) for £40,000. They then expanded the shop by adding a small restaurant that has achieved renown in Scotland-wide food guides.

Michael and Sarah O'Neill came to Ardbeith from Ireland in the mid-70s, and took the unusual step of buying crofts 6, 7 and 14 from the estate proprietor in 1977. At the end of 1978, they sold part of croft 7 to Donald Gunn (9) and in 1983, they sold 2.18 acres of crofts 6 and 14 to the Stewarts, along with the house and shop.

When they came to Beulach in the 1970s, they renovated the Strath house beyond recognition. In the words of one informant "they built their new house round the shell of the old one". Chrissie Stewart says the old house was a 'but and ben' with the sitting room end built into the rockface of the hill. She thought the original but and ben had been a shepherd's house belonging to the estate. Liza Anderson (4 & 5) said it was "built for Davey and his mother by the Board of Agriculture". Other elderly parishioners also recollect a shepherd called Davey, renowned as a dog trainer, living there with his mother. Chrissie Stewart's mother nursed Davey in the 1940s, and he eventually died in an east coast hospital. Another elderly informant thought the cottage had been built for Davey's parents originally.

After Davey died, the next known residents were George and Sandra Macleod. They were from the north of Beulach, and came to the cottage in Ardbeith possibly in the later 1940s. They had a large family, most of whom, unusually, have settled and stayed in Beulach. They are sometimes still referred to as 'the Straths' by long-standing residents of south Beulach (in the north George and Sandra have by-names relating to the townships they grew up in). One of the daughters, Rinie, knows little about the history of the house and how long her family lived there, but does recollect a life of some poverty, in which it was out of the question that any of the children would go on to further schooling on the east coast.

After the O'Neills bought the Strath house and renovated it, they built the shop. It sells a wide selection of arts and crafts materials (paints, Shetland wool, beads and semi-precious stones, etc.) and related books. After selling the business in the early 1980s, they built (7). Just before the driveway goes over the Strath cattle grid, another drive splits off to the right and goes round the hill out of sight, to the O'Neill's modern house and large gardens.

Liza Anderson (4 & 5) recalls that on this site there was "a wee thatched house" which was lived in before the First World War by a couple and their seven children. She remembers that one of their daughters emigrated, and two sons left to become shepherds elsewhere in the Highlands.

The new house at (7) is very private, and the O'Neills are said to be quite reclusive. They do not have a car or television, and Sarah once told Jeannie Gunn (9) that they do not bother changing their clocks to British summer time. They planted trees round their new house, and earlier round the Strath. For their new house, they dug trenches and laid pipes themselves to supply water from the loch behind the house. The occupants of Beithbank say the O'Neills get up very early in the morning and can be seen gathering seaweed on the shore to use as fertiliser in their garden.

Retracing your steps from the Strath and the O'Neills' house to the main road, you are now on the central flat part of the bay. On a calm and clear day, this stretch seems quite idyllic, with a view far out across the sea to the islands. In winter, however, grey walls of rain can be seen sweeping in across the bay, and waves often break over the road itself, leaving it strewn with seaweed and plastic debris.

There are two houses here, (8) and (9). House (8) is Tigh Cuilceach, named after the tiny reedy loch beside it.

Tigh Cuilceach is the home of Margaret Mackay, known by many older people as Peggy Mackenzie, her girlhood name. This is the Mackenzie family home, where Murdo (1) also grew up. Peggy has the tenancy of crofts 8 and 16. The youngest Mackenzie brother (in his sixties), Alec, has a caravan on croft 8. Alec's children are in their twenties and thirties and visit Beulach regularly. The youngest has spent three years living in the caravan and then in Bailemór, working at the fish farm.

Peggy's great-grandfather built the first house on the site, just before his marriage to 'a girl from the other side of Bailemór'. This was around the middle of the 19th century, and there are family tales of how the Duke gifted him building supplies, which the factor then charged for.

Peggy's grandfather was born and brought up in the house. He was the only one of his siblings who stayed in the township. He married a woman from one of the now depopulated inland areas of Beulach, and they lived in Ardbeith, building a new house beside the old one. His health failed and he died before the house was completed, but Peggy has a photograph of the whole of the rest of the family standing outside the new house, "which would have been something to be proud of as it always had two storeys, so it was bigger than the typical croft house".

There were eight children including Duncan, Peggy and Murdo's father. Duncan was the only one to stay in Ardbeith, although he too was away for a while. According to Peggy, all the rest:

went abroad and scattered...because...well, my uncles, after the First World War, there was nothing at all for them here, and the Canadian government were giving this, what they called a quarter of land, to all ex-servicemen, and many of them went from here to Canada. But, the land that they got, most of it they had to clear it of these huge big trees, and they had no mechanical means at all, just hard work, but they survived. It was better than here, where there was nothing.

Duncan was away working for a while, and married late in life. He was in his forties, and his bride Katy, from the north of Beulach, was in her thirties. They had six children and no regular income, so Katy set up probably the first 'B&B' in Beulach. This was the reason, according to her second eldest son, Murdo, that the Mackenzies were:

always a little bit better off than the average, not an awful lot because it was a big family, but, em, our mother was a fantastic lady and she...she decided in the 1920s that if there was farm tourism, why shouldn't there be croft tourism...she advertised in the Scotsman, for a room to let. She got two schoolteachers from Edinburgh, but their visit coincided with the national railway strike in 1926 and she had them for two months instead of two weeks and she never looked back after that.

The Mackenzie children spent the summers in their great-grandfather's old house, adjacent to the site of the current house at (8), and now gone entirely. Sometimes their mother let the new house altogether (e.g., during WWII). She had 'regulars' coming back every year. All in all, the money brought in by her 'summer visitors' enabled the young Mackenzies to go on to school on the east coast.

All of Duncan and Katy's children left Beulach as young adults, during the Second World War. Three of them emigrated to Canada. Duncan and Katy stayed on in Beulach. Katy spent her last few years with her daughter Peggy in Inverness. Their son Murdo returned to Beulach in the 1950s (see (1)) and their daughter Peggy took early retirement and returned in the 1970s, to marry Davey Mackay, the estate's water bailiff. They moved into Tigh Cuilceach, which for some years previously had only been used for holidays by the Mackenzies. Davey died only two years later, but Peggy decided to stay on.

According to the Sasines, her mother Katy had received some small housing improvement grants earlier. Peggy received some more for steading and house improvements in the 1970s, and then a District Council grant of nearly £4,000 in the mid-80s. This would have helped to build the chalet in the field next to Tigh Cuilceach, which Peggy rents out from Easter to October to provide her with an income in addition to her pensions.

Next door, but set slightly back from the road and surrounded by trees, is Jeannie Gunn's house (9). Jeannie herself is from Argyll, and originally came to Bailemór to work as a maid during her college vacation. She met Donald Gunn in Beulach, and returned to marry him some two years later. Donald's father had come to Beulach from the far north of Scotland and was involved in establishing the Bailemór fishing industry. Donald expanded the business very successfully prior to his death in the late '70s.

The earliest mention of house (9) in the Sasines is in the mid-50s, when a small improvement grant was awarded to Mary McIver, at a Glasgow address. In the early 1960s, the feu for (9) was disposed by the estate owners to the same woman, who four months later disposed to Donald Gunn.

When Liza Anderson was a child in the 1910s, it was owned by the Wilson family who lived in Glasgow. Mrs Wilson had inherited the house from her father, who was a brother of the two men who lived in (11). She left it to her grand-daughter, Mary McIver, on condition that she would let all their other relatives stay for holidays in it too. According to Jeannie, Mary McIver had put in a stair and upstairs windows, aided by the improvement grant, but sold it to the Gunns as she became fed up with having to maintain the house herself while it was used by everyone else in her family cost-free.

Jeannie lived in it with her husband Donald when they first married in 1959, for about seven years. They then built a house in Bailemór and lived there for around eight years. Meanwhile, (9) was extended and renovated enormously (the kitchen is really all that is left of the original house) and they moved back into it as a large family home in the mid-70s. After Donald died, Jeannie remained in the house, with her three children coming and going at various stages: most recently, with partners and children while their own houses were being bought or renovated. All three children and their families currently live within three miles of the house and spend a lot of time in Ardbেith.

After the Gunns' house, the road continues along the shore for another two hundred yards before reaching the junction. The left hand fork is the road south, which turns inland, climbing past the last house of Ardbেith. The right hand fork, however, curves round the southern arm of the bay, reaching a dead end at house (20).

Just before this junction is Seaview (10), a croft house with a large extension, and six chalets facing out over the bay. Seaview House was formerly owned by Alistair Macleod and his sister, who took in summer visitors during the 1950s. Alistair's wife had died when their son was very young. The son moved to Ardrhu as an adult, and when his father died, he sold the Ardbেith house to the Hamiltons.

Morag Hamilton (considered a 'real local' although at least three of her grandparents came from outwith the parish) left Beulach as a young woman to work in the police force in Glasgow. There she met Iain, an islander working in the shipyards. They married in Beulach and shortly afterwards emigrated to Canada, but returned after only six months and have remained in the parish since then.

Iain and Morag originally ran a caravan site and bar at Seaview (10) in the 1970s, gradually building chalets and phasing out the caravans. In the late 1980s, they and the Gunns (9) bought a Beulach hotel, running it jointly for a few seasons. Fiona Gunn married Cathel Hamilton and lived first in the hotel and then in house (14) after the joint venture foundered. The Hamilton parents continue to live in Bailemór, and divided up the house and chalets between their remaining children. The Sasines records many transfers of parcels of land, chalets and capital between various family members, including Morag's sister and brother-in-law. In 1996, Cathel's brother Robbie had the house but was working away from

Beulach, and the two daughters, Catriona and Margaret, were living in their own Seaview chalets and managing the renting out of the others. However, Catriona and her husband were planning to move into Bailemór, to work in the hotel and fishing industries respectively, and Margaret and her husband were on the point of moving north in the parish to look after an elderly relative and take over the running of a croft.

Up in the hills behind Seaview is a ruin (11), hidden from view of the road. Most Ardbeith residents are not sure now who lived there, and those outwith the township do not seem to know of its existence, but Peggy (8) and Mary (15) were able to tell me that two old men, related to Angus Ross (12) and with another brother in (9), had lived there early in the century. It has been in an empty and ruinous state for around forty years. Its last inhabitant was Mrs Pritchard, who was an aunt of Angus Ross. Angus lived in (12) and held tenancy of both crofts (10 and 11), scything the bracken around house (11) until near the end of his life.

Bill, an English man in his 30s who has spent several years working in the Inverpool/Rhudach area, and is currently lodging in Bailemór, has been trying to find out about getting this croft and ruin as part of the Crofters Commission New Entrants Scheme, with a view to 'working the land' in what is viewed as typical incomer fashion.

Angus Ross's own house (12), is on the road out of Ardbeith, as it climbs the South Brae. It is set slightly back from the road and enclosed by trees. It is a two storey 'white house' with a kitchen extension at the back, where Angus (like Jessie Matheson in (2)) spent most of his latter years. It has a new tiled roof, which replaced the old standard corrugated iron one. The house has been in Angus Ross's family since it was built, and he was related to many of the 'old Beith families' since died out (e.g., the people at (9) and (11)). His sister Maggie lived in the nearby township of Drumalten and his cousin Mary lives in (15).

Angus died in 1995, and the house stood empty for several months in the centre of a whirlwind of rumour about which member of his sister's family would inherit, and what the knock-on effects would be on council house availability in Bailemór. It is lived in now by his sister Maggie, and one of her daughters with husband and three children.

In the field next to (12) stands a large caravan, (13). It is on a small patch of land fenced off from the rest of the field, with its own path and gate complete with sign reading 'South Brae'.

This was owned by the Scotts, a couple from Glasgow who spent their holidays in Ardbেith. Charlie Scott was a friend of Alec Mackenzie's (8) while he was working in Glasgow. Charlie Scott was part of a group of friends, who came regularly to Beulach on holiday, and were drinking and fishing companions of John Hugh Matheson (2), Donald Gunn (9) and Davey Mackay (8). They stayed at a guest house in Bailemór at first. Charlie met his wife Maureen when they were both in their late forties. When she first came on holiday, Maureen stayed in Dolly's caravan (3), and got to know Dolly and Jeannie (9). After the Scotts married in 1970, they tried to get a caravan site in Ardbেith. They wanted to be by the bay but could not get a site, so they asked Jeannie (9) to ask Maggie (in Drumalten at the time) to ask Angus Ross (12) for a site, and he gave them one in the field by his house. After that they got very friendly with him and visited him frequently when they were staying. Charlie died in the 1980s and Maureen died in the early 1990s, but had sold the caravan a few years earlier to Chris and Susan Gordon. Chris Gordon's brothers had built a holiday bungalow in neighbouring Drumalten a few years before, and all the Gordons were friendly with Maggie, Angus Ross's sister. When Maureen sold the caravan, she gave the proceeds to the Beulach Angling Club and the Bailemór Village Hall.

The Gordons now have planning permission to build a house on the site. More people know them than they do Chris's brothers in Drumalten, who 'keep themselves to themselves'. Chris and Susan were very friendly with Angus Ross, and with Katy and Sandy (5). They had wanted to build a house near the shore at the mouth of the river Beith, but this was opposed by the residents of (2), (5) and (9).

Returning back down South Brae to the junction and taking the fork with the 'no through road' sign, the first house you reach (14) is a long low wooden building with a verandah and picture windows facing out over the bay. A carved wooden sign announces its name as Ceol Mara ('sound of the sea'). It was built by the Tait's in the late 1960s, on half an acre of land from Alistair Macleod Seaview's croft (10). Isobel Tait, from Cults, had stayed on holiday at Seaview regularly, and while in Beulach met and married Alec Tait, a Glaswegian who had come to Beulach to work as a youth hostel warden and was then taken on as an estate

employee. When they first married, they lived in an estate cottage in Bailemór, until Ceol Mara was completed in 1968. They were probably the first people in Beulach to organise this style of housing - a small piece of decrefted land and a Norwegian kit house assembled by Glaswegian builders. It cost them £5,000, which was a lot of money at the time but affordable as Isobel had sold her house in Cults.

They lived in the house for nearly 20 years, until Isobel became seriously ill and they moved nearer to hospital facilities and her family in the north east. Isobel died nearly six years later, and Alec had to decide where he would live. He thought of buying a flat in Bailemór and came up on holiday to look at them:

...but the weather wasn't very good, it was pouring with rain most of one of the weeks I was here, and, ach, I'm almost, well I'm 68, and as you get older, well to come back to all those gales and rain, well it does get a bit much, you know. I decided eventually to move to Perthshire because the weather there is nothing like the rainfall, and no gales there at all, that's really what decided me, plus there's no midges either!

The Taits sold Ceol Mara in 1986 to Kevin and Annie Doxford (now in (17)), a couple from Yorkshire who own garages in Bailemór and Ardrhu, and were at that time living in Clashbeag. The Doxfords paid £25,150 to the Taits, and £2,850 to the estate owners as the half acre was on a 99 year lease from them.

In 1991, the Doxfords announced they were going to live in Ardrhu to be near their son and his family. They sold Ceol Mara to Fiona and Cathel Hamilton, then living in Bailemór, for £58,000. Fiona and Cathel lived there for three years, but after having a second child, they decided to move to a bigger house in Bailemór. The estate agent particulars targeted 'incomers' (emphasising 'escape from the rat race' features of this part of Scotland) and asked for offers over £65,000, but the house was in fact sold for £58,000 to Lucy Fotheringham, who was at that time staying with friends in north Beulach. In other respects, Lucy does fit a 'white settler' mould: she is English; and gave up a professional career to work as an artist and mountaineering instructor (including working with the Beulach Mountain Rescue team). She is active in local committees and the church choir, and there has been much gossip about the possible reasons for her change of lifestyle (principally, rumours of heartbreak and alcoholism in her past).

Next door to Ceol Mara is a traditional 'white house' similar to (2), (4), (8) and (10). This house (15) is lived in by Mary Macleod, counted (with Angus Ross and Peggy Mackay) as 'the last of the natives' in Ardbeith. She is still sometimes referred to as Mary Niall Mór after her father Niall Mór, well known in Beulach in his time as a piper. Mary (born in the 1920s) left school at the age of 13 to nurse her mother, who died young. Mary remained in Beulach all her life and never married. She is very friendly with the Mackenzies ((1) and (8)), and the Sharps visit her regularly and help with the sheep she still keeps. She has a cedarwood 'shack' of the same style and vintage as at Camas na Beith ((2), now at (9)) and now uses hers, as the Gunns' is used, for storage rather than to stay in.

Between her house and the shack, an unsurfaced track runs back up into the hills where, near a small loch, stands Ardgarve (16). The house's name means 'the rough high place' and it is the most isolated of the currently inhabited township dwellings. It is not far from other houses but is remarkably hidden from most angles. Many current residents elsewhere in Beulach do not know it is there at all - although that is true of other houses and places on the single track roads, as many residents see little reason to leave the immediate environs of Bailemór other than to go to Inverness, or occasionally to visit friends or go to the beaches in the north of the parish.

By contrast, older residents with some kind of Ardbeith connection know about it, and if asked will talk about the *bhuidseach* on the house. Locally, this is pronounced 'bushnyach' and seems to mean ill-omen, spell or curse. In the Gaelic dictionary, it is defined as 'witchcraft', and *bana-bhuidseach* is a witch. In the case of local usage, e.g., Ardgarve, there does not seem to be any agency involved. Parman (1990) describes *bhuidseach* on Lewis as 'a form of gossip with supernatural ingredients' as it involves malice, embellishment, and explanations of why some people are more favoured or cursed than others.

I was told by two informants (Alec Tait (14) and Jeannie Gunn (9)) that the house was built around 1905 by a cousin of Angus Ross (12) and Mary Niall Mór (15). He moved in with his wife and two children, and only a year later was killed in a quarry blasting accident on South Brae. Since then, said Jeannie and Alec, the house has brought bad luck to its inhabitants. Alternatively, Rinie (from the Strath house (6)) and her husband said the man who died in the quarry accident was called The Blaster. They could not remember his real

name, but thought he was one of the brothers from Tigh na Rudha (20). They were sure that the builder of Ardgarve was the Stork, called that because he was "six foot seven and very thin". He was the brother of Sandy who lived in (3). Rinie and her husband said the Stork had a horse and cart, which he used to build Ardgarve from the ruins of surrounding houses.

The *bhuidseach* is said to mean that those who live there are only there a short time and then experience bad luck. Alec and Jeannie said this started with the Blaster who built it. As I asked for further stories, it became clear that only the people associated with bad luck stories were remembered: and in the case of the Blaster, perhaps even transferred over time from a neighbouring house to the one 'known' to be unlucky.

Ardgarve is near a loch, also invisible from the roads. Two young girls drowned in the loch about 1940. They were from Drumalten and were playing on the ice when one fell through. The elder sent her young brother, who was also there, to run for help, but by the time they returned both girls had drowned. The brother also drowned as an adult, falling overboard from a friend's boat one Games Day.

Mr Baines, a scientist and atheist, lived in Ardgarve in the 1950s and '60s. One informant said to me that the fact Mr Baines was an atheist reinforced or perpetuated the stories about ill-luck, as being an atheist was tantamount to 'asking for it': an explanation which coincides nicely with Parman's theory above. My informant went on to say that the fact that Mr Baines's wife left him did not seem to be unnaturally unlucky to her, as the wife was much younger than Mr Baines, who was 'a very cantankerous old man'. When Mr Baines got too old to manage in Ardgarve, he went to live in lodgings in Ardrhu and eventually got run over in the street and died in hospital in Inverness. After his death, Peggy (8) and Jessie (2) saw a black rabbit living by the loch at Loncuilk, which Peggy said was 'Mr Baines come back'.

It is interesting to compare these stories with the Sasines record for Ardgarve. The feu was disposed by the estate owner to Mr Baines in 1960. It was then disposed by Mr Baines to a married woman living in Perthshire for £2,200, in 1961 - a transaction that does not figure in these stories. It seems likely that he was transferring the property to his daughter or another relative, perhaps to avoid death duties. At any rate, in July 1965, the woman sold Ardgarve to a solicitor and his wife living in England, for £4,650.

This couple had the house for ten years, which were obviously not cursed or otherwise remarkable as they do not occur in any local stories. In August 1975, Ardgarve was disposed by the solicitor to Raymond and Helen Wallis, then living in Lancashire, for £13,000. Helen ran away with a local man, which was thought very odd at the time as Raymond seemed a 'handsome, nice man' and the local man (since returned to his wife and still living in Beulach) was 'no Adonis'.

Thus, the Wallises only stayed for two years, before selling the house to Audrey Watson, who was living in Yorkshire, for £15,000 in June 1977. Mrs Watson ran a doll museum in one of the outbuildings, which was clearly considered at least by some locals as rather strange. Mrs Watson was apparently happy in Ardgarve, but had to move to the east coast to live with her sister, who was dying.

A couple called Matthew and Betsy Hill from Devon bought the house from Mrs Watson in 1980 for £34,000. They had only lived there a year when Mr Hill died: 'suddenly' according to local stories of the *bhuidseach*, but perhaps not unexpectedly for the Hills, as according to the Sasines, he had transferred the ownership of the house to his wife shortly before his death. Mrs Hill continued to live there for a while but sold the house in 1994, to an Englishman who has taken early retirement to concentrate on his painting. This man, Dan Lightfoot, bought the house unseen for £86,500 on the recommendation of a friend who lives just south of Ardbeith, and keeps an eye on the house while Dan is away. Although Dan bought it planning to come up and live, he has since met and married another artist, Shelly, who has been encouraging him to sell the house again and buy something down south with her. She does not particularly like Ardgarve or the Beulach area. Since I left Beulach, I have heard through Dan's friend that he would be prepared to sell it, but only for over £100,000. Since he has made no improvements to the house, this is the only clear-cut case of house price inflation that I have come across.

After the Ardgarve track end and Mary Macleod's shack, the road begins to curve back down to the sea. It passes three modern houses grouped quite closely together. The first (17) belongs to the Doxfords, who caused some surprise and speculation in Beulach by returning from Ardhrrhu not long after selling Ceol Mara (14). They got Mary Macleod's permission to decroft some of croft 16, and built an unattractive grey box-shaped house on

it. They are seldom seen out and about, and still spend quite a lot of time in Ardrhu with their grandchildren.

Next door to them is house (18), another modern 'kit house' built eight years ago, lived in by Davey and Alison Macleod. Davey received a Scottish Office grant of just under £9,000 in the late 1980s. This would almost certainly be a Crofters Commission Building Grants and Loans Scheme award.

Davey is from a local family known as the 'Ardrhus' as his great-grandfather often worked in Ardrhu, at a time when most men went to the east coast or Glasgow to work seasonally. Alison is from near Glasgow, but other members of her family have moved to Beulach after visiting her there. Her brother lives in Bailemór and her sister's family took a winter let of Tigh na Rudha (20), while looking for somewhere permanent to stay, in 1995/96.

Alison works in the estate office and Davey is a fish buyer. Davey has the tenancy of crofts 17 and 18, stretching right out along the point. He does not keep sheep or do anything else with this land, apart from allowing the Gunns to decroft a section and build (19) on it. The Macleods have two children in the Bailemór primary school - the only young children in Ardbeith until the recent move of Maggie's grandchildren to (12).

The last modern house (19) was built by Kenneth and Louise Gunn (son of Jeannie at (9) and daughter of Dolly (3)) in the early 1990s. Kenneth Gunn got the feu from the estate for £2,000 in 1992. After completing the house, they lived in it for two years with their three children and then decided to move into the village (causing still ongoing speculation and gossip about the reasons why), selling it in 1995 to a widower with four children, Mr Forster. He lived previously at Braebreac, about 20 miles north of Bailemór along a fairly tortuous single track road, and had decided he would like his children to be nearer the village. According to the Sasines, he sold Braebreac Lodge for £130,000 to a man with an English sounding name, who lived near Fort William at the time. He bought (19), a smaller house although still substantial, for £96,000.

The last house (20) in Ardbeith is right down by the bay, sheltered from the open sea by the headland. It is appropriately named Tigh na Rudha, 'the house on the point'. This was built and lived in by Macleods. During the 1970s, only Sadie, who had 'married in' and was by

then an old lady, lived there. Her son Kenneth (still referred to locally as Crazy Ken) was often ill and eventually sent to a mental hospital near Inverness.

The house is still often referred to as "Sadie's" by older residents, and as "Richards'" by the younger people who know the current owners. It is seldom if ever called Tigh na Rudha

The feu was disposed by the estate owner to Sadie at the beginning of 1980, for a little over a hundred pounds. She sold the house in June of that year for £23,000 and returned to Rhudach, the crofting township she grew up in, half an hour's drive to the south.

The buyer, Cyril Hampton, was from Suffolk and used Tigh na Rudha as his holiday home, causing upset in Ardbeith by putting up private signs round about. In the summer of 1986 he was still resident in Suffolk (but on his third address there since 1980) and sold Tigh na Rudha for £39,300 to a couple from Fife, Thomas and Moira Richards. Thomas Richards has a business in Edinburgh, and so does not spend quite as much time in the house as his wife and children. However, they have been regular visitors, and although they do not seem to be very involved in village life, they are well-liked by those who know them such as the Gunns (9 and 19) and Davey and Alison Ardrhu (18), particularly as they are interested in boats. In recent years, now that the children are older, they have not been up so often, and let the house out over the winter to Alison Ardrhu's sister's family.

Discussion

The material presented above about the township of Ardbeith contains much that is linked to foregoing chapters. The following sections make more explicit the most significant themes and patterns. The typical myth of the Highland community often paints a picture of a time in the past where 'everyone was related to everyone else', followed by erosion of this kin-based community and a present day (inferior) alternative of strangers and newcomers leading privatised lives around a dwindling, isolated core of 'real locals'. How does Ardbeith compare to this?

Housing

The classic second homes are Ardgarve (16) and Tigh na Rudha (20): attractive, renovated older houses in private locations. However, Tigh na Rudha was lived in by locals until quite

recently, and Mr Richards made it available for a winter let last year, for Alison Ardrhu's sister and family. Ardgarve has been lived in full-time by incomers since 1960, with only its recent owner treating it as a second home (and potentially about to sell it).

As will be seen in the section on tourism, houses move in and out of holiday cottage status. Currently, only (1), (3), (10), (16) and (20) are available for rent - and (16) and (20) only intermittently and to friends.

The ideal is a house that is lived in all year round, preferably by people with local links. However, incomers who 'take part' are infinitely preferable to a house standing empty, or worse still going to ruin.

Nearly everyone likes an old house fully renovated, but very few locally resident people want to take on an unrenovated house. The older croft houses were also often built with shelter from prevailing winds the main consideration, while locals who build new houses usually have them facing a good view, often with large picture windows. Typical renovations of older houses usually try to improve outlook: e.g., knocking extra windows in gable walls; or adding a conservatory. Local people are more likely to build new houses and incomers to renovate old ones in poor condition. Both of these are expensive options, but many locals are eligible for good loan conditions through the Crofters Building Grants and Loans scheme.

One or two older Ardbeith residents told me that incomers had pushed house prices up beyond the reach of locals. However, this did not seem to be strongly felt. I found it hard to judge objectively from the Sasines. Houses such as Tigh na Rudha (20), Ceol Mara (14) and Ardgarve (16) had clearly increased substantially in price, yet in many cases they had been renovated, outbuildings added, etc.

All the Ardbeith croft houses have by now been renovated/extended to some degree with the general post-war rise in housing standards. Croft houses that were lived in by crofters and have now been sold on are (1), (6), (9), (10), (16) and (20). Croft houses still lived in by kin (although some are fairly attenuated kin links now) are (2), (4), (5), (8), (12), and (3), though the latter is a wholly new house on the old site. New built/massively renovated houses, i.e., since the late 1960s are (3), (6), (7), (9), (14), (17), (18) and (19).

Tourists and 'Summer Visitors'

Ardbeith parallels the experience of most of coastal Beulach (not the inland townships, which were 'dying on their feet' until the last ten years) of a trickle of people renting houses for the summer, expanding into a massive boom in the late '60s and early '70s.

A quote from Peggy Mackay (8) traces the changes and developments of tourism as she sees them. It should be remembered that Peggy's mother was one of the earliest Beulachers to cater to 'summer visitors', many of whom became regulars and friends.

I suppose it started in the '60s, the tourism. There were more tourists coming up. The first tourists who used to come were mainly people with tents, and young people, you know. I don't suppose they added much to the local economy, but anyway...then people started letting houses and that sort of thing, but that was really quite a lot later, you know, that people got into this idea. That you could make money off your house in the summertime. And they all got this...cedarwood huts. In practically all the villages, people had them...It would be...late '60s I think. [Jessie's hut (2)] was up a good few years before I came back here in 1975. But it was marvellous, because they could sit there and have a lovely time all summer, it was like it was a holiday, and their house was earning something for them, something it had never done before. The women I think probably benefited most from it. And then they could buy extra things for their houses.

House naming stems from this period - it sounded romantic and Gaelic but was also practical, as it was difficult for visitors to find their holiday cottage by its croft number, or indeed even by the name of the owner, as so many Beulachers shared the same small pool of names. Of the named houses in Ardbeith; Tigh Cuilceach, Tigh na Rudha, Seaview, Beithbank, Camas na Beith and Torran Glas have a long history of being let to summer visitors. Ardgarve and Ceol Mara have been owned by incomers since the 1960s. The houses with no names are those owned by locals who have never let them out (or not until recently, as is the case with (1)), or new built houses.

Moving out of your own home to let it to visitors lost favour quite early: in the '70s, only older people who had done it for some time were continuing this pattern. Instead, first caravans and then chalets became increasingly common.

Of all the currently habitable Ardbeith houses, only seven have never been let as holiday cottages: (6), (7), (12), (14), (17), (18), and (19) (and house (9) was used as a holiday

cottage but only by relatives of the woman who inherited it). These are mostly new houses, with the exception of Angus Ross (12), who as a solitary bachelor would probably never have considered letting. Without exception, Ardbeith women manage letting to tourists, particularly cleaning the house and changing sheets. Men mow the grass round the holiday properties. Most of the Ardbeith houses, with the exception of the recently built (17), (18) and (19), have provided 'Bed and Breakfast' accommodation at some point:

Well, in '68, there were many more visitors about then than there are today. Of course, probably there wasn't quite as much accommodation, B&B, but usually from about the middle of June through till the middle of September almost all the accommodation in Bailemór was full, hotels, guest houses, B&B, and people would be desperate. They'd maybe have to move to Ardrhu at 9 o'clock at night to try and get accommodation there. So they'd often just call in at Peggy Mackay's so she started doing B&B and so did Mary Macleod, then we, Isobel did the same, because people were coming desperate and pleading, 10 o'clock at night, and we had two spare bedrooms, so we started doing B&B for most of the summer. After about 2 or 3 years, from then on, a lot of the people who came back became friends, came back year after year and stayed for you know a week or so. Isobel wasn't so keen on the ones, it was too much work for her, just coming and staying a night, and having to clean all the sheets and all that. So eventually we mostly had friends coming and staying for a week at a time.

(Alec Tait, house (14)).

The boom slackened as cheap package holidays abroad, where beaches were just as beautiful but more predictably warm, became available. The short and frantic summers of the boom period seem to have been replaced by a longer and calmer tourist season. This of course reflects national patterns and affluence: it seems increasingly common to take a shorter break in Britain plus a summer holiday abroad. Chalets and cottages are often occupied from Easter till the end of the October school holidays, and then again over the New Year period (although some proprietors like to keep their 'winter off, summer on' pattern).

In Ardbeith, there was never a campsite, although people occasionally pitch tents unofficially along the river bank. There are two cedarwood 'shacks' that used to be their owners' summer residence, at (2) and (15), now used instead for storage at (9) and (15). There is also the stonebuilt 'shack' or old house at (5), which is now Raymond Sharp's workshop. The old house at (8) which was used before WWII as the family's summer home

is now gone. There are nine chalets in total along the seafront: one belonging to (8); two belonging to (4) and six belonging to various members of the Hamilton family at (10). There are now only three caravans, at (3), (8) and (13). Only the one at (3) is occasionally rented out: it is felt that they are too basic to meet people's needs 'nowadays'.

Beulachers have an ambivalent attitude towards tourism. It is a supplementary source of income for many if not most Beulachers at some point in their lives, and for some it is their main source of income. The summer season can be busy and exciting in contrast to the 'dead' winter; but it can also be very harassing, negotiating the increased (and incompetently driven) numbers of cars on the single track roads; queues in the shops, bank and post office; and for some an exhausting workload. Isobel Tait, discussed above by her husband, was herself a summer visitor who went on to cater to tourists, and disliked it.

Tourist or 'bongley' are mildly derogatory terms, and 'summer visitor' is used as a form of Beulach political correctness when wanting to sound positive, and as a genuinely positive category between the negatives of tourist and second home owner or white settler (see Figure 4). Before I had ever lived in the area, I would sometimes refer to myself and my family as tourists, which would often elicit an almost shocked response from local residents who insisted we were no such thing. Bongleys or tourists conform to the 'taxi driver and his fare' model of fleeting urban interaction with little emotional engagement (Bell and Newby, 1976). These are the people most likely to be treated with indifference or, occasionally, hostility.

'Summer visitors' are generally regular holidaymakers who do not own property in the area - although there is a discernible incomer career (see Table 5) where people holiday regularly then perhaps buy a caravan, then eventually 'do up' or build a house (e.g. the Gordons, (13)), or marry in (e.g., Isobel Tait, (14) and Jessie Matheson (2)). When such people do get property, they are unlikely to be described pejoratively as incomers unless they behave in an antagonistic way: see Chapter Six, e.g., the petition over the Achmore pub.

'Summer visitors' can often be friends, and people you look forward to seeing again - perhaps more so in the past than now, when people have cars and can get around more easily. My grandfather was a quintessential summer visitor, (as were the Scotts in (13)) living in Beulach for at least two months every year, and two of his best friends (who died

in the 1970s) lived in Ardbeith. Several Ardbeith residents, as well as those in other outlying Beulach townships, told me how much everyone looked forward to 'the crack' after a long and boring winter.

Belonging, Incomers and Migration

It can be seen from the evidence in this chapter that it is certainly the case that Ardbeith has moved from being a township inhabited almost wholly by people bearing local-sounding names to one with a far higher proportion of non-Highland surnames. However, the reality of the situation is not as straightforward as a shift from locals to incomers, from inter-related and inter-dependent households to self-sufficient strangers.

As has been seen in the chapter based on oral history interviews across Beulach, in Ardbeith there is evidence of internal Highland migration. Some people still living in Ardbeith come from families with long roots back in the township: e.g.; Mackenzies (8, 1); Macleods (15); Rosses (12). Other families contain members from elsewhere: Norman Morrison (4) came originally from Rhudach to the south; and Donald Gunn's (9) family came from Dalveg in the north. Sadie (20) was also from a parish to the south of Beulach. Ardbeith and neighbouring Drumalten also contained members of families who had originally come from the Borders as shepherds in the 19th century.

In previous chapters, there has been discussion of in-marriage and belonging (Wight, 1993; Strathern, 1982); the importance of appropriate behaviour and taking part (Burnett, 1996) and the inclusion of absentees (Mewett, 1982; Parman, 1990). I have also presented several ideal-type vignettes of in-migrants. How do current Ardbeith residents fit into this context?

In Beulach, it has been seen, 'belonging' is not a completely closed and exclusive status. It is a process which can be negotiated to a degree. In Ardbeith, this can be seen in the contrast between attitudes towards the second home owner, Cyril Hampton (Tigh na Rudha, 20), and the Scotts (13). Cyril Hampton made himself unpopular by his detachment coupled with putting up 'private' signs forbidding access across his land, which had been walked over by friends of the Macleods of Tigh na Rudha for many years previously. Conversely, the Scotts (13) are a good example of those who 'take part'. Charlie Scott came originally to the area through a friend, and as a couple they expanded their social contacts greatly. They sought a caravan site in an appropriate and tactful manner, and then became friendly with

the site's owner, Angus Ross (12). When Charlie died and Maureen's health was failing, she sold the caravan to other long-standing summer visitors, and gave the money to Beulach voluntary organisations that she and Charlie had had some involvement with.

Lucy Fotheringham (14), although regarded slightly askance as a single woman living on her own, has a good chance of eventually 'belonging', as she takes part in all sorts of aspects of Beulach life, such as the church choir and fund-raising voluntary organisations. Alternatively, the O'Neills figure little in Beulach in any respect, being almost totally detached from social life since selling the Strath (6). Yet, due to their inoffensiveness and long residence, I have never heard anyone refer to them as incomers: but it is seldom that anyone refers to them at all. The Forsters (19) engender a lot of scandal, and many people dislike them, yet I have heard Ardbeith residents refer to them as 'our problem family'. This is probably the case as they had been living elsewhere in Beulach for some time prior to their move to Ardbeith, and there are four school age children.

It is easier to negotiate belonging if you have children, particularly if they are born in the parish. It is easier still if you marry in, as Jeannie (9), Sadie (20) and Dolly (3) did. Jessie Matheson (2) and Isobel Tait (14) came to Ardbeith on holiday and also married locally (although Alec Tait was himself an in-migrant). A more recent example of this is Alison Ardrhu, given the by-name of her 'real local' husband (whose mother was in fact from Aberdeen), and with two children born in the parish. Moreover, other members of her family have followed her to the area, and will find it easier to integrate as a consequence of her in-marriage and residence.

Lastly, Ardbeith shows evidence of non-geographical inclusion and the maintaining of ties. Liza Anderson (5) has spent most of her life elsewhere, but has always felt she partly belongs to the area. The O'Neills' son (7) has been away all his adult life, but has written novels based on the area and visits occasionally, and figures more often in Beulach gossip than his parents. Kenny John McAlister was also included before his move to Ardbeith: e.g., informed by phone of any major Ardbeith events such as births or deaths.

In terms of the ideal type vignettes, it has already been seen that there are many examples of the *in-marrying woman* in Ardbeith. *Good lifers* are particularly the O'Neills (7), and potentially Bill (11). There are more *downshifters*: those without family ties who have

apparently left lucrative professions are viewed with slight suspicion (Professor Forster (19) and Lucy Fotheringham (14)). The others have kin links, and combined factors such as inheritance, early retirement, and part-time jobs to make the move (McAlistair (2), Andersons (4), Sharps (5)). *Return migrants* were often also downshifting, at least initially, and often returned with non-Beulach spouses (Peter and Chrissie Stewart (6), Donald and Nicole Gunn (9), Fiona and Cathel Hamilton (9 and 10), Peggy Mackay (8) and Murdo and Shona Mackenzie (1)). The *bricoleur* is apparent but not in great numbers, perhaps partly as they tend to move on where work takes them - there have been bricoleurs living in Ardbeith caravans in the past, such as one of the Mackenzie grandsons (8). Bill (11) is also a bit of a bricoleur, as are the Hamilton family, who have turned their hands to many different ventures, moving on if they failed or became boring. Murdo and Shona Mackenzie (1) have also made their income from stitching together various part-time occupations.

The pattern of migration for older Ardbeith generations is the same as that found in interviews across Beulach: many siblings having to leave Beulach altogether, and some emigrating, while of those who stayed, most experienced at least some seasonal migration. Due to the out-migration of previous generations, some have kin links but were not born in Ardbeith. Katy Morrison (5) was born in Glasgow in the 19th century and sent to Beulach. Her husband Norman (4) was born in Rhudach and sent north to relatives too. Their niece Liza Anderson was born in Glasgow in 1910, but spent her childhood in Ardbeith. She married and had her daughter Ella, who now lives in (4), in Glasgow.

The Mackenzies (8) were for several generations a large family, nearly all of whose members left the parish if not the country. Two of the generation born before 1930 returned to Ardbeith, and two others live in the Highland region. Of their children's generation, all have stayed in Britain, and one came to Ardbeith as a young man to live and work locally.

Migration processes for the younger generations of Ardbeith residents have involved a higher degree of returning. The Gunn family (9) come originally from Dalveg on the north coast, and Jeannie was from Argyll. Donald and Jeannie's three children were all born in Beulach. Kenneth has stayed in Beulach all his life. Fiona and Donald junior went to college in Edinburgh. Fiona then worked there for a while, and Donald worked in Aberdeen. However, both had returned to Beulach by their mid-twenties. Fiona commuted for a while to Ardhrhu, and then married Cathel Hamilton (10); and Donald married Nicole,

who he met through the Hamiltons whilst he was working in Aberdeen. Cathel Hamilton and Donald and Kenneth Gunn all work in the fishing industry.

Most of the younger Hamiltons (10) spent some time in Aberdeen. Cathel Hamilton did his apprenticeship at a shipyard, where he met Billy (now living in Bailemór) and Stuart (now married to Margaret Hamilton). Catriona Hamilton came back to Ardbeith and married a Bailemór fisherman, and Robbie comes and goes. All members of the Hamilton family are involved to a degree in the tourist industry, or have been in the recent past.

In sum, two of the three Gunn children left and returned after working away for a while. The third remained in Beulach. Only one of the Hamiltons, Margaret, has always worked in Beulach. The other three spent periods working away. Two are now married to other Beulach locals. The last son has been living and working in the parish but has recently left again. These patterns correspond with Lumb's finding (1980) that marriage is often the point where people settle down, whether that is in their home parish or away from it.

Neighbours and Kin: Community Cohesion and Conflict

Links of kinship were clearly quite considerable in Ardbeith earlier in the 20th century. Angus Ross's (12) and Mary Macleod's (15) mothers were sisters; Sandy (3) had a brother who probably lived in (16); John Hugh (2) was related to Alistair and Una Macleod (10). Sadie had married into Tigh na Rudha (20) as her husband was the eldest brother: a younger brother married into the Wilson family over the headland in Drumalten. The families of (9), (11) and (12) (and therefore also (15)) were also related earlier this century. Katy (5) and Norman (4) created kin links between these two neighbouring households by their marriage.

However, as can be seen in the above section, kin ties have certainly not eroded away. Figures 6 and 7 show the relationships between several present day families. Within the last ten years, Cathel Hamilton (10) married Fiona Gunn (9) and Louise Mackenzie (3) married Kenneth Gunn (9).

Living near kin continues. Angus Ross's sister Maggie lived in the next township, Drumalten, before inheriting his house (12). Her daughters live in Ardbeith, Drumalten and Bailemór. The Tigh Cuilceach Mackenzies have house (1) in addition to (8) now, and the

youngest's caravan on croft 8. After Alison married Davey Ardhrhu (18), first her brother moved to Bailemór, and then her sister's family came to Ardbeith.

Those who would seem incomers from their names or accents often have Beulach kin links. This is true of the Sharps (5), the Alexanders (4), the Stewarts (6) and Kenny John McAlistair (2).

Of the 'real' incomers, most have ties involving other kinds of relationships. The current owner of Ardgarve bought it unseen after hearing about it from his friend, who lives just south of Ardbeith. The Doxfords are incomers who have lived and worked elsewhere in the area for many years, and the Forsters too moved from the north of Beulach to Ardbeith. Lucy Fotheringham (14) and Bill (11) have close friends in the area, and Bill has been working in the Beulach and Rhudach areas for years, on and off.

In summary, the majority of Ardbeith inhabitants today are not 'real locals' in the sense of having been born in the township into a family who has lived there for generations, but virtually none are without ties to the area: either of kinship or friendship. The counter-urbanising, downshifting refugee with no knowledge of the area or people in it, who has moved there purely for quality of life reasons, seems to be an elusive figure.

Locally based kinship and friendship has been significant in the past. This is still the case, but the practice of 'ceilidhing' in each other's houses seems to have decreased, even at New Year. People's lives are very much more based around the private car than they were earlier this century. This means that Ardbeith residents mostly see each other on the road, whilst driving. At times you will see two cars facing opposite directions in one of the passing places on the road in to Bailemór, with engines running and their drivers speaking to each other through rolled down windows. More often than not people simply drive past their neighbours, waving. People watch other Ardbeith houses and comment on when and where the lights are on, and which cars are parked outside, but it is possible for many things to happen in the township unknown to immediate neighbours, and which eventually filter through to them from the Bailemór gossip networks (e.g., through the postie or in a village shop).

Ardbeith has, of course, its share of social problems and is in no sense a harmonious and idyllic community. There are problems of isolation and loneliness, health, alcoholism,

anorexia, wife-beating, under-age drinking and smoking, broken families, and feuds between neighbours.

One such conflict was over inheritance to the two houses (4) and (5), in the latter years of Katy's life. Neither the Sharps (5) nor the Alexanders (4) make any direct reference to this, but it is obvious that they do not communicate. They have also been on opposite sides of a dispute over planning permission in Ardbেith in the last few years. Chris and Susan Gordon (who have since bought 13) wanted to build a house on the flat land of the bay. They were supported in this by Maggie, Angus Ross's sister (12). Several Ardbেith residents did not like the idea of a house in the middle of this scenic spot, but only a few wrote objecting to the plans: the Sharps (5); the McAlstairs (2) and Jeannie Gunn (9). Of the objectors, only Jeannie was a full-time resident at that point. Planning permission was denied, and the whole situation caused a rift in Ardbেith, exacerbating tensions between the Sharps (5) and Alexanders (4) and causing Maggie (12) to refuse to speak to any of the objectors for two years.

Of course, there are also friendships within the township. Some of these have been detailed above in discussion of inter-marriage. In addition, Alec Tait was friendly with Jeannie (9) and Peggy (8); the Scotts (13) were friendly with households (2), (8), (12) and (9). Kenny Sheenach (1) and the Mackenzies (8) were close; as were Jessie Matheson (2) and Jeannie Gunn (9). The men of (8), (9) and (3), all now dead, were close friends. Peggy (8), Mary (15) and Murdo (1) have lunch together in Bailemór every week. Other current friendships are between Mary (15) and the Sharps (5); and the Ardrhus (18) and Richards (20). Most other neighbours are generally on friendly terms, and keep an eye on each other's houses when residents are away on holiday. In times of power cuts or bad weather, and at Hogmanay, the township is at its most cohesive and friendly. For example, in the winter of 1995/96 it snowed extremely heavily, and the Sharps (5) took members of every household into Bailemór to do their shopping, in their Land Rover. At times like this, everyone seems pleased and happy to be chatting more with their neighbours. In general, it often seems in Beulach that people would like more of a reason to call on neighbours and acquaintances, but this is now lacking in day to day life.

Conclusion

It is apparent that in Ardbeith, as elsewhere in Beulach, there is no simple incomer/local divide. People from many different places, and even those with no Beulach ancestry, can over time and with suitable behaviour, be thought of as 'belonging'. Insider/outsider statuses also fluctuate or are used selectively depending on context. For example, in contrast to a 'them' of tourists, well-liked second home owners with no local kin (such as the Richards in house (20)) are part of the Beulach 'us'.

The 'belonging trajectory' discussed in Chapter Six has also been seen in Ardbeith, with different householders at different stages in their 'careers'. There are Ardbeith residents who have come on holiday, stayed in caravans, bought or built houses, taken early retirement to be full-time residents of Beulach. People who have commitment to the area, integrate well, and are not perceived as overbearing, can belong, especially if they have children.

As was found to be the case in Chapter Five across all Beulach, many members of older generations living in Ardbeith had to leave or even emigrate to find work. The economic importance of fishing and especially tourism can be seen to have altered this in Ardbeith. Employment, and thus the possibility of staying, has increased for younger township residents such as the Gunns and Hamiltons. Tourism has provided crucial income for older residents, through the letting of chalets and holiday cottages and the running of small businesses like the Strath shop.

Like elsewhere in Beulach, there has been in-migration to Ardbeith. However, it is not the case that the township has gone from a purely local past to domination by stranger-outsiders. Some of the 'real old locals, dead and gone' were born in Glasgow or came from Borders shepherding families.

Currently, most apparent 'incomers' have some kind of link to people in the area. The counter-urbanising refugee seeking peace and scenery, with no previous knowledge of the area or people, seems to be quite a mythic figure. Dan Lightfoot (16) is the closest to this, having bought his house unseen, but even he was acting on the recommendation of a friend who has lived in Fearn for eight years.

Emotional relationships of all kinds are significant factors in the moves and decisions of Ardbeith people: whether friendships (e.g., Dan Lightfoot; Aberdeen friends of the Hamiltons); family (e.g., Alison Ardrhu's brother and sister moving to Beulach after visiting her there over the years) or marriage (e.g., Jessie Matheson (2); Jeannie Gunn (9); Margaret Hamilton's husband Stuart; etc.). This is true of leaving Beulach as well as coming to it: Isobel Tait (14) was a 'summer visitor' who moved full-time to Beulach as she married Alec Tait. Twenty years later, they both left as her health was failing. Alec was leaving for her sake and missed Beulach badly.

In Ardbeith, there is also evidence of the high levels of interest in and surveillance of neighbours discussed in Chapter Seven (e.g., working out who is visiting from the cars parked outside; watching for lights at night to see if second home owners are there) and yet the township residents lead quite privatised lives. There is often little contact with neighbours other than a wave in passing. People seem to regret this slightly, and to relish the contact necessary in times of, e.g., severe weather conditions or power cuts.

This chapter has served to draw together various themes through an examination of a microcosm of Beulach life. In the next and final chapter, the arguments of the thesis will be recapitulated in the context of assessing the contribution it has made to knowledge in this field.

CHAPTER NINE

Conclusion

The thesis began with an examination of academic debate about the nature and causes of counter-urbanisation; related background information about the experience of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; and a broader examination of micro-level studies of migration and social change.

It has been seen that from the early 1970s, a process of population turnround or 'rural renaissance' was evident across much of the developed world, including Western Europe, Australia and the United States. This process generated much academic interest as it reversed a century-long trend of urbanisation. However, since then, turnround has slowed and even ceased in some cases. Thus, the question has arisen whether it is a new, long-term trend, or merely a temporary anomaly.

Champion (1989) has argued that people always have a preference for 'lower-density settlement', and it is simply more possible to put this preference into action in certain periods, when circumstances are more suitable (e.g., at times of falling energy costs). Some writers (e.g., McCleery, 1991) see slender grounds for optimism about the stability of recent population increase in remote rural areas. Certainly, counter-urbanisation seems more established in areas relatively near to urban settlements, and more precarious in really remote rural areas. It is uncertain whether the process of counter-urbanisation will endure, but it is a fact that across the developed world, over the last two decades remote rural areas have experienced a halt to the population decline of the previous hundred years. The Highlands and Islands of Scotland have paralleled this experience, with stronger demographic recovery near urban areas such as Inverness, and pockets elsewhere associated with economic developments (e.g., Thurso and Shetland). The process has been less robust in the more remote areas lacking in industry.

Regardless of the arguable fragility of this new demographic shift, there has been a sea-change in attitudes towards remote rural areas, consisting of a general growth in optimism about the viability and sustainability of remote rural communities (e.g., Linklater, 1997).

The pre-turnround literature is very gloomy, painting a picture of decay, decline and demoralisation (e.g.: Brody, 1973; Littlejohn, 1963; Forsythe, 1980). My own research area

in the west Highlands was described as 'disintegrating' in the 1940s by naturalist Frank Fraser Darling (McKay, 1995), and the local minister forecast a very bleak prospect for the parish in the early 1950s when he wrote his entry for *The Statistical Account of Scotland*. The Taylor Commission (1954), investigating conditions in the crofting counties, also came to the conclusion that many of these areas were 'moribund' and in urgent need of help if they were to survive.

This literature also gave me my first glimpse of ambivalence and inconsistency in attitudes towards life in remote rural areas. There was an intriguing combination of saying that people were 'forced to leave' and discourse about rural life's limitations and dullness, and the failure of those who remain in such communities to 'better themselves' by leaving (e.g., Brody, 1973; Mewett, 1982).

The way in which migration interacted with socio-economic status also became apparent to me during the course of my reading. As early as the study of Westrigg, Littlejohn (1963) was arguing that working class people did not value rural life highly, but middle class people were more likely to do so, as the experience of living in a remote rural area is not deprived and isolated if you have money, a car, etc. Moisley (1962) noted that across the Highlands and Islands, where people could increase their incomes (e.g., Dounreay) they stayed. On Whalsay, island life was held in high esteem, which Cohen (1987) attributes to the combination of a strong cultural tradition with economic success. Similarly, Lumb's research (1982) found that migration from her study areas across the Highlands and Islands was a response to the depressed economy of the home community.

Various threads in the literature led me towards a concept of viability thresholds for remote rural communities. Moisley (1962) argued that there was a 'point of no return' in Highland population decline which, once passed, resulted in communities going into a vicious downward spiral. In the Faroes (Jackson in Jones, 1982a) and Norway (Myklebost, 1984), it was apparent that a certain level of population was required for the provision and maintenance of services, communications and infrastructure.

My question was then: what had happened in Beulach with the result that, after despairing predictions on the future of the parish in the 1940s and '50s, this threshold of community

viability had been passed, and not only had population stabilised, but those living in the area apparently felt optimistic about the community and its future?

More recent research has focused on similar questions in an attempt to discover the reasons for counter-urbanisation. Studies by, e.g., Harper (1991), Bolton and Chalkley (1990) and Smailes and Hugo (1985) have found that it was typically combinations of factors (such as small businesses, early retirement, long distance commuting, farming, and the presence of key individuals) that made the crucial difference to population numbers.

These authors called for more micro-level studies to complement macro-level analyses of demographic change. It was argued that more empirical data and locality-based theorising was required, in order to understand the causes underpinning population shifts.

My research in Beulach is just such a study. However, its methodology differs markedly from preceding studies (e.g.: Jones *et al.*, 1986; Lumb, 1982; Bolton and Chalkley, 1990; Gray, 1993). Rather than carrying out another structured survey in a short field trip to Beulach, I chose to live in the area for over a year, keeping fieldnotes and tape recording loosely structured interviews with residents. Participant observation, as I have argued in Chapter Three, provided me with richer data.

The 'two dimensional' informants of questionnaire-based research provide soundbite statements of their reasons for leaving, staying or returning, according to the self-images they wish to present, static in time, in the survey format. Living in your research area, you have access to more than the self-presentations of informants - you see how they act and interact, and you hear what others think, know and remember of them. Loosely structured interviews, rather than questionnaires, provide more scope for informants to raise unexpected issues. More complex and subtle reasons for decisions are revealed, particularly if the researcher is trusted by the interviewee.

My findings are a direct result of this more in-depth knowledge of a remote rural community. These methods are, of course, not without their difficulties: in particular, the way in which knowledge is a product of the interaction between the researched (people and place) and the researcher. The ethics of participant observation are also complex. For these reasons, Chapter Three of the thesis discussed methodology in great detail. Within the general aim of reflexivity, I have tried to pay particular attention to aspects that have

previously been quite neglected. For example, while questionnaires are a 'snapshot', even participant observation has been guilty of giving communities the artificiality of 'the ethnographic present' (cf., Wight, 1993). I have tried to maintain a sense of dynamism. Communities are always changing, even if only in the minutiae of individuals' lives. My research has taken place in a particular period of Beulach's history, and I would hope that I will not be publishing material in fifteen years' time that treats Beulach as if it has been preserved in aspic since the mid-90s. I have also tried to give a dynamic sense of my own status as a researcher in the field, showing how this changed and developed over the course of my Ph.D.

Research data throughout the remainder of the thesis has been presented in the form of statistics, diagrams, case studies of incidents, vignettes, and the narratives of individuals.

Chapter Four discussed historical, demographic, economic and social aspects of life in Beulach, and how these have changed over time. This provides the reader with the in-depth knowledge of the context in which daily life, including migration decisions, takes place. From this chapter, it can be seen that Beulach in many respects parallels demographic processes throughout the developed world. Population decline over the last century accelerated rapidly after both World Wars. This decline slowed during the 1960s, and population numbers have since stabilised and even risen slightly. There has been an increase in the numbers of children born locally, but the main reason for change is immigration. English-born residents have increased, but so has return migration. Economic opportunities are now far greater and more diverse than they have been for most of this century. Opportunities are largely related to fishing, tourism and crofting. There is an emphasis on pluriactivity, seasonal work and small businesses.

What is also clear from Chapter Four is that Beulach interacts with the rest of the world - it is not a place apart and out of time. State institutions, national and European legislation: all structure Beulach life. There are further extra-local links through the work lives and personal relationships of individuals. Local and extra-local social ties combine through migration, employment, friendship and kin.

The life course focus of my research with elderly people found that this is not only the case in present day Beulach. There does not seem to have been a time in the past when Beulach

was a 100% local, self-contained 'traditional' community, although like elsewhere (cf., Jedrej and Nuttall, 1996), this is sometimes assumed in Beulach rhetoric. I found that many elderly interviewees had non-local forebears, and that to have wholly local ancestry and remain in the parish all your life was exceptional. This concurred with Lumb's findings (1982) that the Highland population is highly mobile, and migration (especially for the young and single) is not deviant but normative.

What my research has added to this, as discussed in Chapter Five, is the evidence that this has been the case at least throughout the late 19th and 20th centuries. My focus on oral history accounts and the significance of the life course (identified as an area of academic neglect by Knight, 1994) highlights how in- and out-migration has been present in the families of generations of Beulachers. Thus, it is seen as a natural and logical part of individuals' lives. Indeed, migration was generally taken for granted by interviewees, but my data revealed how it was in fact structured by constraints, chance and choice - gender and socio-economic status playing significant roles.

When my interviewees were young, to be successful usually involved leaving Beulach. There was significant ambivalence in attitudes towards Beulach, combining affection and nostalgia with the idea that you had to 'get out and get on'. While outwith the parish, people maintained ties with those still resident in Beulach. From the late 1950s, rising standards of living (electricity, water, roads, housing) and new employment opportunities made staying or returning more possible, and more appealing.

The oral history accounts of elderly people have not only added temporal depth to Lumb's hypothesis (1982). The method yields rich and valuable data on the lived experience of Beulach over time, on growing up and 'getting by' in remote rural areas. I believe there is a good case for extending the use of this method of data collection. In the case of my own research, I regret that the constraints of the thesis did not give me scope for further analysis of the accounts I collected. I hope to develop this in the future through narrative analysis and work on self-perception and -presentation in life accounts.

The thesis has also examined present-day migration in the context of what it means to 'belong' to Beulach. This is done in Chapter Six through an analysis of specific issues, such as housing, voluntary organisations, and local/incomer conflict, and of specific types of in-

migrant. It is concluded that people in Beulach are relatively open to newcomers, as long as they live in the parish and integrate appropriately. Belonging to Beulach is an easier status to achieve if you marry a local or have children. Commitment to the area is valued, so socially detached second home owners are the people most likely to be viewed unfavourably, especially by those in outlying townships where up to half the housing stock can lie empty for much of the year. In sum, 'taking part' is positive and almost essential to belonging, while 'taking over' is negative, and leads to resentment and the application of the label 'white settler'.

Statuses of belonging are not fixed, neither are they simply stages of a continuum along which individuals move. I show how incomer/local identity is mobilised in certain circumstances to add weight to arguments, or explain a person's behaviour. Personal characteristics are crucial in the process of status allocation.

The literature theorising belonging has largely moved away from the relatively unsophisticated incomer/local dichotomy. More recent work has portrayed many intermediate grey areas (Crow and Allan, 1994); the ability of someone to develop their status (Phillips, 1986; Burnett, 1996); and the lack of objective reality of labels of belonging (Strathern, 1982; Jedrej and Nuttall, 1995).

My research furthers this understanding through the concept of identity as mobilised, in certain situations, to fit these situations, regardless of independent 'realities' such as the demographic characteristics of the person under discussion.

As a result of the methods I chose to use, my research also led me to find a recurring pattern I would have missed had I carried out surveys in areas which I had no in-depth knowledge of. In brief, I have formulated a thesis of the crucial (and quite often unspoken) role of personal relationships in people's migration decisions - both in terms of constraint and of choice.

The factors conventionally identified in the literature all play an important part: the availability of jobs and housing; the presence of infrastructure such as roads and services (water, electricity, health, education); and the appreciation of beautiful scenery, a safe environment and peace and quiet. Alongside these, however - and in many cases the driving influence or indeed the only reason - is the significance of significant others. Throughout

the thesis, it has been seen that changes and decisions in people's lives were influenced by factors such as falling in or out of love; looking after infirm or elderly relatives; and escaping from relationships to a new life in Beulach; or, equally, escaping from the social constraints of life in Beulach to a new life elsewhere.

Chapter Seven also makes a contribution to the literature through its in-depth focus on the gossip and daily life of Beulach. The literature to date has emphasised a functional approach, whereby gossip is a useful safety valve or conflict resolving mechanism. The sense of gossip as entertainment, which permeates my own findings, does not figure strongly in earlier writing.

Gossip is theorised in the literature as an important feature of group membership. It is portrayed as related to 'rules' and normative standards, yet my evidence has shown that it continues to thrive in relatively heterogeneous settings such as Beulach. I argue that this is the case not only because gossip is entertaining, but because it is crucial to people's presentations of themselves, others and the community, over time.

Gossip in Beulach is inextricably linked to humour, which relies on knowledge accumulated over time, local referents, anecdote and *schadenfreude*. Indirectness is a crucial part of humour and gossip, and is also linked to 'belonging' as it is part of the Beulach model of appropriate behaviour. The model of restraint in conflict, found in other community studies (e.g., Cohen, 1987; Mewett, 1982) is still apparent in Beulach, but open conflict also exists, despite the inconveniences of this in a small-scale society. I have argued that this is because cross-cutting ties of kinship, church, etc., are not as strong as in some other studies. This could simply be due to the fact that many of these studies were carried out as long ago as the 1970s (e.g., Mewett, 1982; Parman, 1990). Such cross-cutting ties probably did exist in Beulach earlier this century (as is shown in Chapter Eight), but have lessened due to the substantial in-migration of the last 30 years. Moreover, Beulach peoples' lives (in line with national rises in living standards) have become increasingly privatised and affluent, with a limited need for the interdependence which results in constraint.

As is also the case with gossip, conflict is entertaining for onlookers and is often vicariously enjoyed: it leads to ongoing gossip; and people watch for developments. This sort of surveillance is widespread in Beulach. As has also been documented by other researchers

(e.g., Munro, 1996; Macleod, 1992; Burnett, 1996), surveillance is felt to be all-pervasive and oppressive by Beulach residents.

In the last chapter, I have presented a different type of evidence, instead of the statistics and ideal types of earlier chapters. The themes of the thesis reiterated above are portrayed in microcosm in Chapter Eight, through the detailed survey and analysis of one particular Beulach township.

To conclude the thesis, I wish to discuss briefly prospects in terms of my own research and also the future of community studies in general. Not to be forgotten are the prospects for Beulach - how will its 'rural renaissance' fare?

I would assess that Beulach has now risen above the necessary threshold of community viability, which will mean it is self-sustaining and will not slip into the 'downward spiral' discussed by Moisley (1962). There has been a growth in service employment and professions such as social work and teaching, in addition to fishing and tourism related businesses. Given Beulach's healthy demographic profile, it seems that there will continue to be both young and elderly people in the parish for some time to come.

It has been argued that the contraction in formal employment opportunities will bolster the process of counter-urbanisation (e.g., Jones *et al*, 1986). The erosion of the 'job for life' and the growth of early retirement, short term contracts and 'portfolio careers' (Harvey, 1990; Handy, 1981) means that what was previously seen as the insecurity of a working life in Beulach will increasingly become the norm. As one return migrant said to me, if you are going to be unsure where next year's money is coming from, you might as well be unsure about it in a beautiful place like Beulach, where you can get a Crofters' Commission loan to build a house, and your kids can play safely.

For these reasons, I would assess that in-migration, including returnees and newcomers, will continue in Beulach. More young people will choose to stay than in the post-war period, but many will still leave, at least for a while, due to a combination of negative attitudes towards staying in Beulach and the at times oppressive nature of life in a small-scale society. The nature of the community will not remain static: e.g., I would imagine that older 'rules' such as Sabbath observance will continue to fade.

In the longer term, there are a few major factors which may dramatically alter this picture. It is hard at this stage to assess the possible impact of Scottish devolution, or even independence, or of increasing European integration. While the tourist industry may fluctuate in response to these developments, I would assess that it will not crumble, due to the powerful attraction exerted by the scenery and associated romantic myths of the Western Highlands. The fishing industry seems a more likely contender for complete collapse, as a direct result of over-fishing; or indirectly through the imposition of drastic conservation measures such as the enforced decommissioning of boats.

As was seen in Chapter Four, many Beulach inhabitants have a degree of dependence on the fishing industry (the crew of small trawlers, 'lumpers', buyers, office staff, lorry drivers, engineers, pub owners and staff) and its collapse might be the one factor which could send Beulach back down past the 'point of no return'. The loss of hill livestock subsidies or the closure of the knitwear factory could perhaps also crack the foundations of population turnround. However, all things being relatively equal, I am sure that the significance of significant others will continue to feature prominently in people's decisions about their lives.

In terms of my own future, I have already mentioned my interest in further work on self- and collective-presentation in narrative accounts. I do not believe that researchers with opportunities for longitudinal study of the same area should necessarily restrict themselves to the same methods, as often seems to happen. I still would not do house-to-house questionnaires in Beulach, but I think in future research I will have less faith in official statistics such as CSAS and more confidence to do systematic questioning myself. I can also imagine research projects that perhaps would not use tape recordings at all, e.g., an ethnographic study of fishing and the informal economy. I am at present starting a 3 year project examining the inter-relation of community, employment, family and children, through a case study of the oil industry in Grampian. I can see exciting potential for complementary research on the fishing industry and family life, grounded in the excellent fishing industry contacts made in Beulach during the course of my Ph.D. research.

This is related to how I see the future of community studies as a whole - that they provide an ideal way of examining sociological issues of general relevance, such as the impact of paid employment on family life and *vice versa*. Over 20 years ago, Bell and Newby (1971, 1976)

noted academic impatience with the perceived idiosyncrasy and non-cumulative nature of community studies. Disputes over definitions and methodology seemed to result in the outright jettisoning of community studies by sociology. Newby argued more recently that these research methods were admittedly imperfect but nevertheless valuable, and their abandonment had resulted in a situation where “our finger is perhaps less securely on the pulse of social change in Britain in the 1990s than it was in the early 1960s” (Crow and Allan, 1994: xi).

However, as elsewhere, there are cycles of fashion in academic life and I am optimistic that social science is increasingly recognising the value of data collected through in-depth micro-level study, especially where data can be validated (e.g., by comparison of interviews, notes from participant observation, and statistics). ‘Community’ should not be dismissed as a concept with so many definitions it is meaningless, nor should a community study be a non-cumulative collection of facts about a particular place. People use ‘community’ meaningfully - it continues to symbolise something important to them so should not be regarded by academics as passé. We all use ‘community’ in describing and accounting for our lives and experiences, expressing our ideas of solidarity, interest and identity (Crow and Allan, 1994). The methods used in community studies are well suited to getting to the crux of these matters, so I believe there is a valuable place for the community-based research of many sociological themes, for many years to come.

APPENDIXES

Table 6: **Committee Membership**

Table 7: **Ardbeith Houses and Residents**

TABLE 6: COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

Key to Organisations mentioned:

Games = Beulach Highland Games Committee
Woods = Community Woodlands Trust
Council = Beulach Community Council
History = Beulach Local History Society
Crofters = Scottish Crofters Union
Field = Field Club
Tourism = Beulach Tourism Group
Feis = Beulach Feis Society
Hall = Bailemór Village Hall Committee
Leisure = Beulach Leisure Centre Campaign
SCF = Save the Children Fund
Church = choir/youth group/Sunday school
Playgroup = Beulach Pre-school Playgroup
Mountain = Beulach Mountain Rescue Team
Assoc = Beulach Community Association
Rifle = Rifle Club
Photo = Photography Club
RNLI = Lifeboat Committee
Residents = Ardglas Residents' Association
Gaelic = Gaelic Association
PTA = Parent/Teacher Association

No.	Name	Occupation	Where from	Member of
1	Andrew	former Navy officer, currently working in fishing industry	Scotland	Games, Woods, Council, RNLI
2	Brian	retired inventor	England (Yorkshire)	Council, Field, Woods
3	Agnes	local councillor, summer seasons in tourist office	Rhudach (south of Beulach)	Council, Leisure, Hall (and others in the past)
4	Chris	bookshop/café owner	Scotland (Glasgow)	Council, Tourism
5	David	former Army officer, English teacher and owner of English teaching business. Now has self-catering chalets.	England	Council, Woods, Tourism
6	Eachann	local crofter, worked away as an engineer most of his life	Beulach	Director of Crofters, Council
7	Frank	runs campsite and café. A joiner to trade, and worked formerly for Hydro Board on contracts	Beulach	Council, Games, Crofters

No.	Name	Occupation	Where from	Member of
8	Belinda	formerly a Maths teacher. Works for Highland Tourist Board.	Scotland (Central Belt). Summer visitor to Beulach: family renovated house and moved up full time ten years ago	Council, Tourism, Crofters. Husband is in Crofters; daughter in Woods, Crofters and History
9	George	Manager of Bailemór Stores	Scotland	Council, Field
10	Harry	retired village GP	Scottish but grew up in Manchester and has lived in Beulach since 1963	Council, formerly in Mountain, Community Assoc, Rifle Club, Photo
11	Ivor	engineer	son of Harry, came to Beulach as infant	Council, Woods
12	Cath	social worker	Scotland (Huntly)	Community Councillor, Residents
13	Jeff	manager of social work centre	Dorset	Photo, Community Councillor, Church
14	Kevin	owner of paper shop. former college lecturer	Scotland (Glasgow). Married to local woman, they returned to Beulach 10 years ago.	Council, Games
15	Debs	administrator at social work centre	Ireland	Council, Residents, editor of local paper, Leisure
16	Ethel	retired police officer, crofter	Had Beulach grandparents and went to school there, working life in Glasgow	History, Crofters, Clach Village Hall.
17	Les	came from Edinburgh, to run a tea-shop and gallery in Beulach	England (Yorkshire)	History, Feis, Gaelic
18	Frances and Michael	formerly lecturers at Stirling, taken early retirement	England originally (summer visitors of long duration, permanent residents for last two years)	History
19	Gertrude	formerly nursery teacher, early retirement to Beulach	Scotland (Glasgow). Had Beulach kin and was summer visitor all her life	History, Playgroup, helps at Beulach Centre

No.	Name	Occupation	Where from	Member of
20	Norman	Headmaster of Bailemór Primary School	Beulach	History, Feis, Crofters, Hall
21	Oliver	retired, former Crofters Commissioner and various other part-time employments. Fifteen years working away in Civil Service.	Beulach (husband of Nancy, see vignette).	History, Games, Hall.
22	Helen	housewife with three children. worked away in Dundee formerly.	Beulach (mother from Dundee)	History, Games, PTA, Feis
23	Isabel	Singer, married to Chris, three children.	Beulach	Feis, History, Games
24	Peter	Bank manager	Beulach kin but grew up on Harris.	Crofters, Games, Hall.
25	Jean	Housewife/widow, now retirement age	Argyll, married local man	Games, Leisure, Hall, SCF, formerly Woods
26	Kathleen	Housewife, two small children	Scotland (Edinburgh), married local man	Games, Playgroup, Leisure, Church
27	Robbie	Crofter and builder	Local	Crofters, Games
28	Simon	Teacher	Scotland (Banchory). Summer visitor renovating Beulach house.	Games
29	Thomas	Formerly teacher, taken early retirement	England (London), Beulach kin links	Games
30	Victor	Factor	Scotland	Woods, RNLI
31	Willie	Ranger	Wales (moved from Glasgow)	Woods, Crofters
32	Laura	English teacher, early retirement	Scotland (Edinburgh)	Woods
33	Alistair	Househusband, one child.	Local	Woods, Rifle, Mountain
34	Bob	Retired biologist	Ireland	Woods, Field
35	Calum	Fish farm manager	Scotland (born in Perth, grew up in Beulach)	Woods, Coastguard
36	Mabel	Retired psychiatrist	USA	Woods

TABLE 7: ARDBEITH HOUSES AND RESIDENTS

House no./name	Type of buildings	Croft(s)	Person(s) current first, former in brackets
1	croft house, with conservatory. holiday cottage	1	Murdo and Shona Mackenzie (Kenny Sheenach - wife's family's croft)
2 Camas na Beith	croft house back extension	2	Kenny John McAlister (inherited from his aunt and uncle, John Hugh and Jessie Matheson)
3	1970s house built on old house site. holiday cottage. caravan and shed at back	3	Dolly Mackenzie (from Shetland - widow of Neil - his family's croft. Dolly has two adult children, Louise and Donald)
4 Torran Glas	croft house with gable end extension; two chalets	4, 12	Ella and Johnny Alexander (Norman Morrison grew up here. Ella is Liza Anderson's daughter)
5 Beithbank	outbuildings were old house. new house built 1930s	5, 13	Alison and Raymond Sharp (inherited from Norman and Katy Morrison. Liza Anderson and Sandy also grew up here. Sharps have adult children, not resident)
6 Strath Shop	shepherd's house rebuilt with shop early 1970s		Peter and Chrissie Stewart (bought from the Evans. lived in previously by 'the Straths' (Macleods) and before that by Davey the shepherd. Stewarts have three teenage children).
7	new house on site of ruin last lived in before WW2	6, 7, 14	Michael and Sarah O'Neill (from Ireland, one son now adult and away from Beulach)
8 Tigh Cuilceach	croft house, chalet and caravan	8, 15	Peggy Mackay (nee Mackenzie. Mackenzies first built on that site mid-19th century.)
9	croft house largely rebuilt 1970s & shack formerly at 2		Jeannie Gunn (from Argyll - widow of Donald Gunn. House previously owned by McIvers and Wilsons)
10 Seaview House	croft house with large dining room extension. Six chalets.	10	Hamiltons (was lived in by Iain and Morag Hamilton, but now run by their adult children. Son Cathel has croft tenancy. Previously owned by Alistair Macleod)

House no./name	Type of buildings	Croft(s)	Person(s) current first, former in brackets
11	ruin		(empty for at least forty years. Last inhabitant an aunt of Angus Ross)
12	croft house with kitchen extension	9, 11	Angus Ross (recently inherited by Angus's sister, Maggie, who is living in it with her daughter's family)
13 South Brae	caravan		Chris and Susan Gordon (put on site by Charlie and Maureen Scott and stayed in for many years by them on holidays)
14 Ceol Mara	Norwegian wooden 'kit house'		Lucy Fotheringham (built by Alec and Isobel Tait on land from Alistair Macleod at 10. Later bought by Doxfords, now at 17, then by Hamiltons, from 9 & 10)
15	croft house & shack	16	Mary Macleod (Macleod family house)
16 Ardgarve	croft house with extensions plus studio/museum.		Dan and Shelly Lightfoot (lived in previously by Mr Baines, Mrs Watson, Robin and Helen Wallis and the Hills)
17	'kit house'		Kevin and Annie Doxford (new built house on land from Mary Macleod at 16)
18	'kit house'	17, 18	Davey and Alison Macleod (two children in primary school)
19	'kit house'		Forsters (built by Kenneth and Louise Gunn, formerly 3 & 9. Four school age Forster children)
20 Tigh na Rudha	croft house, holiday cottage		Thomas and Moira Richards (previously Sadie Macleod and son Kenneth; then Cyril Hampton)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Not all of the following are directly referenced in the thesis, but they have all been valuable background reading. I have decided to include works not directly referred to as when I began my Ph.D., I found other people's bibliographies a very helpful starting point.

It should also be noted that I have excluded those references which threaten the anonymity of Beulach.

- Aitken, K, 'Making the Glens Great' in *The Scotsman Magazine*, 16 April 1996.
- Aldridge, J, 'The Textual Disembodiment of Knowledge in Research Account Writing' in *Sociology*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp 53-66, 1993.
- Allan, GA, *A Sociology of Friendship and Kinship*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1979.
- Altork, K, 'Walking the Fire Line: the erotic dimensions of the fieldwork experience' in D Kulick and M Willson (eds), *Taboo: sex, identity and erotic subjectivity in anthropological fieldwork*, London and New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Anderson, B, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, London: Verso, 1991.
- Ardener, E, 'Remote Areas: Some Theoretical Considerations' in A Jackson (ed), *Anthropology at Home*, London and New York: Tavistock, 1987.
- Armstrong, K, 'Rural Scottish Women: Politics without Power' in *Ethnos*, vol. 43, no. 1-2, pp 51-72, 1978.
- Atkinson, P, *The Ethnographic Imagination: textual constructions of reality*, London and New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Bailey, FG, *Gifts and Poison: the politics of reputation*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971.
- Baldwin, JR (ed), *Peoples and Settlement in Wester Ross*, Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies, 1994.
- Baldwin, JR 'At the Back of the Great Rock: crofting and settlement in Coigach, Lochbroom' in JR Baldwin (ed), *Peoples and Settlement in Wester Ross*, Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies, 1994.
- Bedell, G, 'Life and Work in the Balance' in *Independent on Sunday*, 23 June 1996.
- Bell, C and Roberts, H (eds), *Social Researching: Politics, Problems, Practice*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984.
- Bell, C and Newby, H, *Community Studies: an introduction to the sociology of the local community*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1971.
- Bell, C and Newby, H, 'Community, Communion, Class and Community Action: the social sources of the new urban politics' in DT Herbert and RJ Johnston (eds), *Social Areas in Cities*, London, New York: Wiley, 1976.
- Bell, DNF and Kirwan, FX, 'Return Migration in a Scottish Context' in *Regional Studies*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp 101-112, 1979.
- Bennett, R, 'Overners: an Anthropological Survey' in R Sawyer (ed), *The Island from Within: an Anthology*, Andover: Caric Press, 1990.
- Bertaux, D (ed), *Biography and Society: the life history approach in the Social Sciences*, Beverley Hills London: Sage, 1981.
- Bertaux, D, 'From the Life-History Approach to the Transformation of Sociological Practice' in D Bertaux (ed), *Biography and Society: the life history approach in the Social Sciences*, Beverley Hills London: Sage, 1981.

- Bertaux-Wiame, I, 'The Life History Approach to the Study of Internal Migration' in D Bertaux (ed), *Biography and Society: the life history approach in the Social Sciences*, Beverley Hills London: Sage, 1981.
- Blythe, R, *Akenfield: Portrait of an English Village*, London: Allen Lane, 1969.
- Bolton, N and Chalkley, B, 'The Rural Population Turnaround: a case study of North Devon' in *Journal of Rural Studies*, vol. 6, pp 29-43, 1990.
- Bolton, R, 'Tricks, Friends, and Lovers: erotic encounters in the field' in D Kulick and M Willson (eds), *Taboo: sex, identity and erotic subjectivity in anthropological fieldwork*, London and New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Bowen, ES, *Return to Laughter*, London: Victor Gollancz, 1954.
- Bradley, T and Lowe, P (eds), *Locality and Rurality: economy and society in rural regions*, Norwich: Geo Books, 1984.
- Brody, H, *Inishkillane: change and decline in the West of Ireland*, London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1973.
- Bryman, A, *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*, London: Unwin and Hyman, 1988.
- Bulmer, M, 'The Rejuvenation of Community Studies? Neighbours, Networks and Policy' in *Sociological Review*, vol. 33, no. 3, pp 430-448, 1985.
- Burnett, J (ed), *Useful Toil: autobiographies of working people from the 1820s to the 1920s*, first published by Allen Lane 1974, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977.
- Burnett, J (ed), *Destiny Obscure: autobiographies of childhood, education and family from the 1820s to the 1920s*, first published by Allen Lane 1982, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984.
- Burnett, KA, 'Once an Incomer, Always an Incomer?' in P Chapman and S Lloyd, *Women and Access in Rural Areas: what makes the difference? what difference does it make?*, Aldershot: Avebury, 1996.
- Burton, R, 'Castles in the Air, Identities and Individualism: the Cornish and their "dimensions of difference"', paper presented at BSA Annual Conference, York University, April 1997.
- Caird, JB and Moisle, HA, 'Leadership and Innovation in the Crofting Communities of the Outer Hebrides' in *Sociological Review*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp 85-101, 1961.
- Caird, JB, 'Changes in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, 1951-71' in *Geoforum*, vol. 12, no. 2, pp 5-36, 1972.
- Callaway, H, 'Ethnography and Experience: gender implications in fieldwork and texts' in J Okely and H Callaway (eds), *Anthropology and Autobiography*, London: Routledge, 1992.
- Cameron, A, *Bare Feet and Tackety Boots: a boyhood on Rhum*, Barr, Ayrshire: Luath Press, 1988.
- Catani, M, 'Social-life History as Ritualized Exchange' in D Bertaux (ed), *Biography and Society: the life history approach in the Social Sciences*, Beverley Hills London: Sage, 1981.
- Chamberlain, M, *Fenwomen: a portrait of women in an English village*, London: Virago, 1975.
- Champion, AG, 'Introduction: counterurbanization experience' in AG Champion (ed), *Counterurbanization: the changing pace and nature of population deconcentration*, London: Arnold, 1989.
- Champion, AG, 'Counterurbanization: the conceptual and methodological challenge' in AG Champion (ed), *Counterurbanization: the changing pace and nature of population deconcentration*, London: Arnold, 1989.
- Champion, AG, 'Conclusion: temporary anomaly, long-term trend or transitional phase?' in AG Champion (ed), *Counterurbanization: the changing pace and nature of population deconcentration*, London: Arnold, 1989.
- Champion, AG, 'United Kingdom: population deconcentration as a Cyclic Phenomenon' in AG Champion (ed), *Counterurbanization: the changing pace and nature of population deconcentration*, London: Arnold, 1989.
- Champion, AG (ed), *Counterurbanization: the changing pace and nature of population deconcentration*, London: Arnold, 1989.

- Chapman, P and Lloyd, S, *Women and Access in Rural Areas: what makes the difference? what difference does it make?*, Aldershot: Avebury, 1996.
- Chapman, P, 'Women's Experience of Rural Disadvantage' in P Chapman and S Lloyd, *Women and Access in Rural Areas: what makes the difference? what difference does it make?*, Aldershot: Avebury, 1996.
- Clifford, J, 'Introduction: partial truths' in J Clifford and GE Marcus (eds), *Writing Culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography*, Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986.
- Clifford, J and Marcus, GE, (eds) *Writing Culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography*, Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986.
- Cohen, AP, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, first published by Ellis Horwood, 1985, London New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Cohen, AP (ed), *Belonging: identity and social organisation in British rural cultures*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982.
- Cohen, AP, *Whalsay: symbol, segment, and boundary in a Shetland Island Community*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987.
- Cohen, AP, 'The British Anthropological Tradition, Otherness and Rural Studies' in P Lowe and M Bodiguel (eds), *Rural Studies in Britain and France*, London: Belhaven Press, 1990.
- Cole, K, 'The 1991 Local Base and Small Area Statistics' in A Dale and C Marsh (eds) *The 1991 Census User's Guide*, London: HMSO, 1993.
- Coleman, R, 'Second Homes in North Norfolk' in MJ Moseley (ed), *Power, Planning and People in Rural East Anglia*, Norwich: Geo Books, 1982.
- Condry, E, "'You're not a Sassenach if you live the way we do" Cultural Assimilation: an example from the Western Isles' in A Jackson (ed), *Way of Life: integration and immigration*, SSRC North Sea Oil Panel Occasional Paper no. 12, London: SSRC, 1982.
- Condry, E, *Scottish Ethnography*, Edinburgh: Association for Scottish Ethnography/SSRC, 1983.
- Connerton, P, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Cooke, P (ed), *Localities: the changing face of urban Britain*, London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- Cottam, MB, Knox, PL, and Hirsch, PH, *The Highlands in Transition: current aspects of social geography in a peripheral area*, SSRC North Sea Oil Panel Occasional Paper no. 6, London: SSRC, 1981.
- Cottam, MB and Knox, PL, *The Highlands and Islands: a social profile*, Geography Department occasional paper no. 6, University of Dundee, 1982.
- Cramb, A, 'The Seeds of a Greener Future' in *The Scotsman*, Friday 18 February 1994.
- Crawford, M, *Talking Difference: on gender and language*, London: Sage, 1995.
- Crow, G, Marsden, T and Winter M, 'Recent British Rural Sociology' in P Lowe and M Bodiguel (eds), *Rural Studies in Britain and France*, London: Belhaven Press, 1990.
- Crow, G and Allan, G, 'Beyond 'Insiders' and 'Outsiders' in the Sociology of Community', paper delivered at the BSA Annual Conference 'Contested Cities: Social Process and Spatial Forms', University of Leicester, April 1995a.
- Crow, G and Allan, G, *Community Life: an introduction to local social relations*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994.
- Crow, G and Allan, G, 'Community Types, Community Typologies and Community Time' in *Time and Society*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp 147-166, 1995b.
- Dale, A and Marsh, C (eds), *The 1991 Census User's Guide*, London: HMSO, 1993.
- Darling, FF, *Island Years*, first published by Bell, 1940, this edition London: Pan Books, 1973.
- Davis, J, 'Tense in Ethnography: some practical considerations' in J Okely and H Callaway (eds), *Anthropology and Autobiography*, London: Routledge, 1992.
- Day, G and Murdoch, J, 'Locality and Community: coming to terms with place' in *Sociological Review*, vol. 41, no. 1, pp 82-111, 1993.

- Dean, KG, Shaw, DP, Brown, BJH, Perry, RW and Thorneycroft, WT, 'Counterurbanisation and the Characteristics of Persons Migrating to West Cornwall' in *Geoforum*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp 177-190, 1984.
- Dean, A, 'Culture and Community: drink and soft drugs in Hebridean youth culture' in *Sociological Review*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp 517-563, 1990.
- Delamont, S, *Appetites and Identities: an introduction to the Social Anthropology of Western Europe*, London New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Denzin, NK, 'The Interactionist Study of Social Organization: a note on method' in D Bertaux (ed), *Biography and Society: the life history approach in the Social Sciences*, Beverley Hills London: Sage, 1981.
- Department of Agriculture for Scotland, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Crofting Conditions* (the Taylor Commission), Edinburgh: HMSO, 1954.
- Department of Health for Scotland, *Depopulation in Rural Scotland*, Edinburgh: Government Printer, 1951.
- Dickson, MB, 'Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot? A comparison of the Scots and English in Scotland' in *Scottish Affairs*, no. 7, pp 112-134, spring 1994.
- Dorian, NC, 'A Substitute Name System in the Scottish Highlands' in *American Anthropologist*, vol. 72, no. 2, pp 303-319, 1970.
- Drake, M (ed), *Time, Family and Community: perspectives on family and community history*, Open University/Blackwell, 1994.
- Dubisch, J, 'Lovers in the field: sex, dominance, and the female anthropologist' in D Kulick and M Willson (eds), *Taboo: sex, identity and erotic subjectivity in anthropological fieldwork*, London and New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Dunbar, R, *Grooming, Gossip and the Evolution of Language*, London: Faber & Faber, 1996.
- Elder, G, 'History and the Life Course' in D Bertaux (ed), *Biography and Society: the life history approach in the Social Sciences*, Beverley Hills London: Sage, 1981.
- Elias, N and Scotson, JL, *The Established and the Outsiders: a sociological enquiry into community problems*, first published by Cass, 1965, second edition London: Sage, 1994.
- Elliott, B, 'Cultural Capital, Social Capital and Processes of Social Mobility: a study of recent Scottish migrants in Canada', paper presented at BSA Conference, University of Reading, April 1996.
- Emler, N and Reicher, S, *Adolescence and Delinquency: the collective management of reputation*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1995.
- Emmett, I, *A North Wales Village: a Social Anthropological study*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964.
- Ennew, J, 'Self Image and Identity in the Hebrides' in A Jackson (ed), *Way of Life: integration and immigration*, SSRC North Sea Oil Panel Occasional Paper no. 12, London: SSRC, 1982.
- Erikson, KT, 'Sociology and the Historical Perspective' in M Drake (ed), *Applied Historical Studies: an introductory reader*, London: Methuen/Open University Press.
- Fielding, AJ, 'Counterurbanisation in Western Europe' in DR Diamond and JB McLoughlin (eds) *Progress in Planning*, vol. 17, part 1, pp 1-52, 1982.
- Finch, J, 'The Vignette Technique in Survey Research' in *Sociology*, vol. 21, no. 1, pp 105-114, 1987.
- Finch, J, *Family Obligations and Social Change*, Oxford: Polity Press, 1989.
- Findlay, AM, 'Population Geography' in *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp 64-72, 1991.
- Firth, R, Hubert, J and Forge, A, 'Factors in Kin Knowledge' in *Families and their Relatives: kinship in a middle-class sector of London*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969.
- Forsythe, DE, 'The Social Effects of Primary School Closure' in T Bradley and P Lowe (eds), *Locality and Rurality: economy and society in rural regions*, Norwich: Geo Books, 1984.
- Forsythe, DE, 'Urban Incomers and Rural Change: the impact of migrants from the city on life in an Orkney community' in *Sociologia Ruralis*, vol. 20, no. 4, pp 287-307, 1980.

- Forsythe, DE, 'Urban-Rural Migration and the Pastoral World View: an Orkney case' in A Jackson (ed), *Way of Life: integration and immigration*, SSRC North Sea Oil Panel Occasional Paper no. 12, 1982.
- Frankenberg, R, *Village on the Border*, London: Cohen and West, 1957.
- Gagnon, N, 'On the Analysis of Life Accounts' in D Bertaux (ed), *Biography and Society: the life history approach in the Social Sciences*, Beverley Hills London: Sage, 1981.
- Gasson, R, 'Part-time Farming: Strategy for Survival?' in *Sociologia Ruralis*, vol. 26, no. 3/4, pp 364-375, 1986.
- Gearing, J, 'Fear and Loving in the West Indies: research from the heart (as well as the head)' in D Kulick and M Willson (eds), *Taboo: sex, identity and erotic subjectivity in anthropological fieldwork*, London and New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Geertz, C, 'Thick Description: toward an interpretive theory of culture' in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- Geertz, C, *Works and Lives: the anthropologist as author*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988.
- Gilligan, JH, 'Visitors, Tourists and Outsiders in a Cornish Town' in M Bouquet and M Winter (eds), *Who From Their Labours Rest? Conflict and Practice in Rural Tourism*, Aldershot: Avebury, 1987.
- Gluckman, M, 'Gossip and Scandal' in *Current Anthropology*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp 307-316, 1963.
- Gluckman, M, 'Psychological, Sociological and Anthropological Explanations of Witchcraft and Gossip: a clarification' in *Man*, vol. 3 NS, pp 20-34, 1968.
- Goffman, E, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, first published in the USA 1959, Harmondsworth: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1969.
- Gold, JR and Gold, MM, *Scottish Crofting: a new selected bibliography*, Discussion Paper in Geography no. 26, Oxford Polytechnic, 1991.
- Grant, IF, *Highland Folk Ways*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961.
- Gray, DK, 'Counterurbanisation and the Perception of Quality of Life in Rural Scotland: a postmodern framework', Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1993.
- Hammersley, M, *What's Wrong with Ethnography? Methodological Explorations*, London New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Handy, C, *The Future of Work: a guide to a changing society*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984.
- Hankiss, A, 'Ontologies of the Self: on the mythological rearranging of one's life-history' in D Bertaux (ed), *Biography and Society: the life history approach in the Social Sciences*, Beverley Hills London: Sage, 1981.
- Harper, S, 'People Moving to the Countryside: case studies of decision-making' in T Champion and C Watkins (eds), *People in the Countryside: studies of social change in rural Britain*, London: Chapman, 1991.
- Harvey, D, *The Condition of Postmodernity: an enquiry into the origins of cultural change*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990.
- Hastrup, K, 'Writing Ethnography: state of the art' in J Okely and H Callaway (eds), *Anthropology and Autobiography*, London: Routledge, 1992.
- Hetland, Per, 'Pluriactivity as a Strategy for Employment in Rural Norway' in *Sociologia Ruralis*, vol. 26, no. 3/4, pp 385-395, 1986.
- Hobsbawm, E, and Ranger, T (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Homan, R, *The Ethics of Social Research*, New York: Longman, 1991.
- Hudson, M, *Coming Back Brocksens: a year in a mining village*, London: Vintage, 1995.
- Hugo, GJ and Smailes, PJ, 'Urban-Rural Migration in Australia: a process view of the turnaround' in *Journal of Rural Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp 31-33, 1985.
- Humphrey, R, 'Life Stories and Social Careers: ageing and social life in an ex-mining town' in *Sociology*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp 166-178, 1993.
- Humphries, S, *The Handbook of Oral History*, Inter-Action Trust Ltd, 1984.

- Hunt, G, 'The Pub, the Village and the People', Ph.D. thesis, University of Kent, 1989.
- Hunter, J, *A Dance Called America: the Scottish Highlands, the United States and Canada*, Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1994.
- Hunter, J, *The Claim of Crofting: the Scottish Highlands and Islands 1930-1990*, Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1991.
- Hunter, J, *The Making of the Crofting Community*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1976.
- Hunter, J, *On the Other Side of Sorrow: nature, people and environment in the Scottish Highlands*, Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1995.
- Jackson, A (ed), *Anthropology at Home*, London and New York: Tavistock, 1987.
- Jackson, A (ed), *Way of Life: integration and immigration*, SSRC North Sea Oil Panel Occasional Paper no. 12, London: SSRC, 1982.
- Jackson, A (ed), *Way of Life and Identity*, SSRC North Sea Oil Panel Occasional Paper no. 4, London: SSRC, 1981.
- Jackson, A, 'Reflections on Way of Life' in A Jackson (ed), *Way of Life: integration and immigration*, SSRC North Sea Oil Panel Occasional Paper no. 12, London: SSRC, 1982.
- Jackson, A, 'Identity' in A Jackson (ed), *Way of Life: integration and immigration*, SSRC North Sea Oil Panel Occasional Paper no. 12, London: SSRC, 1982.
- Jamieson, L and Toynbee, C, *Country Bairsns: growing up 1900-1930*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992.
- Jamieson, L, Jones, G, and Martin, C, 'Locality, Identity and Migration: a study of young people growing up in the Scottish Borders', BSA Annual Conference, University of Reading, 1-4 April, 1996.
- Jamieson, L and Jones, G, 'Loss of Youth?: leaving and staying in the Scottish Borders', forthcoming.
- Jamieson, L, 'Rural and Urban Women in Domestic Service' in E Gordon and E Breitenbach, *The World is Ill-Divided: women's work in Scotland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990.
- Jedrej, MC and Nuttal, M, 'Incomers and Locals: metaphors and reality in the repopulation of rural Scotland', in *Scottish Affairs*, no. 10, pp 112-126, winter 1995.
- Jedrej, MC and Nuttall, M, *White Settlers: the impact of rural repopulation in Scotland*, Luxembourg: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1996.
- Jenkins, R, 'Bringing It All Back Home: an anthropologist in Belfast' in C Bell and H Roberts (eds), *Social Researching: Politics, Problems, Practice*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984.
- Johnson, A, *A House by the Shore: twelve years in the Hebrides*, London: Warner, 1986.
- Jones, H, *Recent Migration in North Scotland: pattern, process, impact*, SSRC North Sea Oil Panel Occasional Paper, no. 13, London: SSRC, 1982a.
- Jones, H, *Review of Scottish Population Migration Studies*, SSRC North Sea Oil Panel Occasional Paper, no. 15, London: SSRC, 1982b.
- Jones, H, Caird, J, Berry, W and Dewhurst, W, 'Peripheral Counter-Urbanization: findings from an integration of Census and survey data in Northern Scotland' in *Regional Studies*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp 15-26, 1986.
- Jones, H, Ford, N, Caird, J and Berry W, 'Counterurbanization in Societal Context: long distance migration to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland' in *Professional Geographer*, vol. 36, no. 4, pp 437-444, 1984.
- Jones, G, '"The Same People in the Same Places"? constructing socio-spatial identities in youth', mimeo, University of Cambridge.
- Kenna, ME, 'Changing Places and Altered Perspectives: research on a Greek Island in the 1960s and 1980s' in J Okely and H Callaway (eds), *Anthropology and Autobiography*, London: Routledge, 1992.
- Killick, A, 'The Penetrating Intellect: on being white, straight, and male in Korea' in D Kulick and M Willson (eds), *Taboo: sex, identity and erotic subjectivity in anthropological fieldwork*, London and New York: Routledge, 1995.

- King, R (ed.), *Return Migration and Regional Economic Problems*, London: Croom Helm, 1986.
- Knight, J, 'Questioning Local Boundaries: a critique of the anthropology of locality' in *Ethnos*, vol. 57, no. 3/4, pp 213-231, 1994.
- Knipe, E, *Gamrie: an exploration in cultural ecology: a study of maritime adaptations in a Scottish fishing village*, New York: University Press of America, 1984.
- Kohli, M, 'Biography: account, text, method' in D Bertaux (ed), *Biography and Society: the life history approach in the Social Sciences*, Beverley Hills London: Sage, 1981.
- Kulick, D and Willson, M (eds), *Taboo: sex, identity and erotic subjectivity in anthropological fieldwork*, London and New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Law, C and Warnes, A, 'The Destination Decision in Retirement Migration' in A Warnes (ed), *Geographical Perspectives on the Elderly*, 1982.
- Linklater, M, *People in a Landscape: the new Highlanders*, Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1997.
- Little, J, 'Feminist Perspectives in Rural Geography: an introduction' in *Journal of Rural Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp 1-8, 1986.
- Littlejohn, J, *Westrigg: the sociology of a Cheviot parish*, London New York: Routledge and Paul: the Humanities Press, 1963.
- Lowe, P and Bodiguel, M (eds), *Rural Studies in Britain and France*, London: Belhaven Press, 1990.
- Lumb, R, 'A Community Based Approach to the Analysis of Migration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland' in *Sociological Review*, vol. 28, no. 3, pp 611-627, 1980.
- Lumb, R, 'The Demography of Small Communities: stable numbers and fragile structures' in H Jones (ed), *Recent Migration in North Scotland: pattern, process, impact*, SSRC North Sea Oil Panel Occasional Paper, no. 13, London: SSRC, 1982.
- MacArthur, EM, *Iona: the living memory of a crofting community 1750-1914*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990.
- MacArthur, EM, 'Blasted Heaths and Hills of Mist: the Highlands and Islands through travellers' eyes' in *Scottish Affairs*, no. 3, pp 23-31, Spring 1993.
- MacArthur, EM, *Columba's Island: Iona from past to present*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995.
- Macdonald, D, 'Keep up to Date in a Fast-Changing Industry' in *The Crofter*, April 1997.
- Macdonald, J, 'View from the Croft Gate' in *Am Bratach*, January 1996.
- Macdonald, SJ, 'Locality and Community: a West Highland parish', mimeo, European Ethnological Research Centre, c/o National Museums of Scotland, Chambers Street, Edinburgh, 1995.
- Macdonald, SJ, 'Whisky, Women and the Scottish Drink Problem: a View from the Highlands' in M McDonald (ed), *Gender, Drink and Drugs: Social Anthropological approaches*, Oxford: Berg, 1994.
- Macdonald, FJ, *The Corncrake and the Lysander*, London: Macdonald, 1985.
- Macdonald, FJ, *Crowdie and Cream*, London: Macdonald, 1982.
- Macdonald, FJ, *Crotal and White*, London: Macdonald, 1983.
- MacIver, T, *Croft Remote*, Durham: the Pentland Press, 1994.
- Maclean, A, *Night Falls on Ardnamurchan: the twilight of a crofting family*, London: Victor Gollancz, 1984.
- Maclean, C, *Rural Renaissance: a Scottish Highland case study*, M.Sc. dissertation, Edinburgh University, 1995.
- MacLellan, A, *The Furrow Behind Me: the autobiography of a Hebridean crofter*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962.
- Macleod, A and Payne, G, 'Locals' and 'Incomers': social and cultural identity in late twentieth century Coigach' in JR Baldwin (ed), *Peoples and Settlement in Wester Ross*, Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies, 1994.
- Macleod, A, *Social Identity, Social Change and the Construction of Symbolic Boundaries in a West Highland Settlement*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Plymouth, 1992.

- Macleod, L, *Why Do Young People Leave the Highlands?*, undergraduate project, University of Glasgow, 1995a.
- Macleod, L, *Urban Refugee: truth or myth?*, undergraduate dissertation, University of Glasgow, 1995b.
- Macmillan, G, *Land, People and Government in Northern Scotland: an evaluation of crofting policy as a tool for maintaining the welfare of rural populations in marginal areas*, report to the Crofters Commission, April 1996.
- Mascarenhas-Keyes, S, 'The Native Anthropologist: constraints and strategies in research' in A Jackson (ed), *Anthropology at Home*, London and New York: Tavistock, 1987.
- Mauthner, NS and Doucet, A, 'Reflections on a Voice-Centred Relational Method: analysing maternal and domestic voices' in J Ribbens and R Edwards (eds), *Feminist Dilemmas in Qualitative Research: public knowledge and private lives*, London: Sage, 1997.
- McAlpine, J, 'Settler Watching' in *The Scotsman Weekend*, 19 February 1994.
- McCleery, A, 'Population and Social Conditions in Remote Areas: the changing character of the Scottish Highlands and Islands' in T Champion and C Watkins (eds), *People in the Countryside: studies of social change in rural Britain*, London: Chapman, 1991.
- McKay, R, 'Harsh Winds, Stony Ground and Hard Labour' in *The Sunday Telegraph*, April 23 1995.
- Mewett, PG, 'Associational Categories and the Social Location of Relationships in a Lewis Crofting Community' in AP Cohen (ed), *Belonging: identity and social organisation in British rural cultures*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982.
- Mewett, PG, 'Exiles, Nicknames, Social Identities and the Production of Local Consciousness in a Lewis Crofting Community' in AP Cohen (ed), *Belonging: identity and social organisation in British rural cultures*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982.
- Middleton, A, 'Marking Boundaries: men's space and women's space in a Yorkshire village' in T Bradley, P Lowe and S Wright, *Deprivation and Welfare in Rural Areas*, Norwich: Geo Books, 1984.
- Mills, CW, *The Sociological Imagination*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Moisley, HA, 'Population Changes and the Highland Problem 1951-1961' in *Scottish Studies*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp 194-200, 1962.
- Moody, D, *Scottish Family History*, London: Batsford, 1988.
- Moreno, E, 'Rape in the Field: reflections from a survivor' in D Kulick and M Willson (eds), *Taboo: sex, identity and erotic subjectivity in anthropological fieldwork*, London and New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Morrison, PA and Wheeler, JP, 'Rural Renaissance in America?' in *Population Bulletin*, vol. 31, pp 1-27, 1983.
- Munro, G, *"I'm Nae Eese for Nithin Bit Scrapin Pans!": an ethnography of the lives of young married women in a fishing community in the north east of Scotland*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1996.
- Musello, C, 'Family Photography' in J Wagner (ed), *Images of Information: still photography in the Social Sciences*, Beverly Hills/London: Sage, 1979.
- Myklebost, H, 'The Evidence for Urban Turnaround in Norway' in *Geoforum*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp 167-176, 1984.
- Nadel, JH, 'Stigma and Separation: pariah status and community persistence in a Scottish fishing village' in *Ethnology*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp 101-115, 1984.
- Nadel, JH, 'Burning with the Fire of God: Calvinism and community in a Scottish fishing village' in *Ethnology*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp 49-60, 1986.
- Nelson, GK, *Countrywomen on the Land: memories of life in the 1920s and '30s*, Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1992.
- Newby, H, *Green and Pleasant Land? social change in rural England*, first published London: Hutchinson 1979, Hounslow: Wildwood, 1985.

- Newby, H, 'The Rural Sociology of Advanced Capitalist Societies' in H Newby (ed), *International Perspectives in Rural Sociology*, Chichester New York: Wiley, 1978.
- Newby, H (ed), *International Perspectives in Rural Sociology*, Chichester New York: Wiley, 1978.
- Newby, H, *The Deferential Worker: a study of farm workers in East Anglia*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977.
- Newby, H, '25 Years of Rural Sociology: some reflections at the conclusion of the 25th volume of *Sociologia Ruralis*' in *Sociologia Ruralis*, vol. 25, no. 3/4, pp 207-213, 1985.
- Newman, O, *Defensible Space: people and design in the violent city*, London: Architectural Press, 1972.
- Okely, J, 'Anthropology and Autobiography: participatory experience and embodied knowledge' in J Okely and H Callaway (eds), *Anthropology and Autobiography*, London: Routledge, 1992.
- Okely, J and Callaway, H (eds), *Anthropology and Autobiography*, London: Routledge, 1992.
- Paine, R, 'What is Gossip About? an alternative hypothesis' in *Man*, vol. 2 NS, pp 278-285, 1967.
- Parman, S, *Scottish Crofters: a historical ethnography of a Celtic village*, Chicago: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1990.
- Parman, S, 'General Properties of Naming, and a Specific Case of Nicknaming in the Scottish Outer Hebrides' in *Ethnos*, vol. 41, pp 99-115, 1976.
- Payne, G, 'Aliens and Alienation: some issues in the ethnography of the community study', mimeo, Faculty of Human Sciences, University of Plymouth.
- Phillips, SK, 'Natives and Incomers: the symbolism of belonging in Muker parish, North Yorkshire' in AP Cohen (ed), *Symbolising Boundaries: Identity and Diversity in British Cultures*, Manchester University Press, 1986.
- Plummer, K, *Telling Sexual Stories: power, change and social worlds*, London: Routledge, 1995.
- Plummer, K, *Documents of Life: an introduction to the problems and literature of a humanistic method*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1983.
- Pratt, ML, 'Fieldwork in Common Places' in J Clifford and GE Marcus (eds) *Writing Culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography*, Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986.
- Quayle, B, 'Images of Place in a Northumbrian Dale' in T Bradley and P Lowe (eds), *Locality and Rurality: economy and society in rural regions*, Norwich: Geo Books, 1984.
- Rabinow, P, 'Representations are Social Facts: modernity and post-modernity in anthropology' in J Clifford and GE Marcus (eds) *Writing Culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography*, Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986.
- Rennie, FW, 'The Electronic Crofter: the impact of high technology developments in the Highlands and Islands' in *Scottish Affairs*, no. 3, pp 40-47, Spring 1993.
- Richards, E, 'Poverty and Survival in Nineteenth Century Coigach' in JR Baldwin (ed), *Peoples and Settlement in Wester Ross*, Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies, 1994.
- Richards, E and Clough, M, *Cromartie: Highland Life 1650-1914*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989.
- Richards, E, *The Leviathan of Wealth: the Sutherland fortune in the Industrial Revolution*, London Toronto: Routledge and Kegan Paul: University of Toronto Press, 1973.
- Richling, B, '"You'd never starve here": return migration to rural Newfoundland' in *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp236-249, 1985.
- Riessman, CK, *Narrative Analysis*, Qualitative Research Methods Series 30, London: Sage, 1993.
- Riley, J, *Getting the Most from your Data: a handbook of practical ideas on how to analyse qualitative data*, Bristol: Technical and Educational Services, 1990.
- Rotary Club of Stornoway, *The Outer Hebrides Handbook and Guide*, Stornoway: Kittiwake Press, 1989.
- Saunders, P, Newby, H, Bell, C and Rose, D, 'Rural Community and Rural Community Power' in H Newby (ed), *International Perspectives in Rural Sociology*, Chichester New York: Wiley, 1978.

- Schweizer, P, *Shepherds, Workers, Intellectuals: culture and centre-periphery relationships in a Sardinian village*, Stockholm: University of Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology, 18, 1988.
- Scott, JC, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: hidden transcripts*, Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Scott, J, *A Matter of Record: documentary sources in social research*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.
- Seyfrit, C and Hamilton, LC, 'Who Will Leave? Oil, Migration and Scottish Island Youth' in *Society and Natural Resources*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp 263-276, 1992.
- Shanklin, E, 'When a Good Social Role is Worth a Thousand Pictures' in J Wagner (ed), *Images of Information: still photography in the Social Sciences*, Beverly Hills/London: Sage, 1979.
- Sharman, A, '"Joking" in Padhola: categorical relationships, choice and social control' in *Man*, vol.4 NS, pp 103-117, 1969.
- Shucksmith, M, *The Definition of Rural Areas and Rural Deprivation*, report to Scottish Homes, University of Aberdeen, 1990.
- Shucksmith, M, and Alexander, D, *A Review of Support for Crofter Housing*, Research Report 37, Edinburgh: Scottish Homes, 1994.
- Smailes, PJ and Hugo, GJ, 'A Process View of the Population Turnaround: an Australian rural case study' in *Journal of Rural Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp 31-33, 1985.
- Smith, SJ, 'Bounding the Borders: claiming space and making place in rural Scotland' in *Transactions, Institute of British Geographers (NS)*, vol. 18, pp 291 - 308, 1993.
- Spradley, JP, *Participant Observation*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980.
- Stacey, M, *Tradition and Change: a study of Banbury*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960.
- Stebbing, S, 'Women's Roles and Rural Society' in T Bradley and P Lowe (eds), *Locality and Rurality: economy and society in rural regions*, Norwich: Geo Books, 1984.
- Steel, T, *The Life and Death of St Kilda: the moving story of a vanished island community*, Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1975.
- Stoller, P, *The Taste of Ethnographic Things: the senses in anthropology*, Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1989.
- Strathern, M, 'The Limits of Auto-Anthropology' in A Jackson (ed), *Anthropology at Home*, London and New York: Tavistock, 1987.
- Strathern, M, 'The Place of Kinship: kin, class and village status in Elmdon, Essex' in AP Cohen (ed), *Belonging: identity and social organisation in British rural cultures*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982.
- Strathern, M, 'The Village as an Idea: constructs of village-ness in Elmdon, Essex' in AP Cohen (ed), *Belonging: identity and social organisation in British rural cultures*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982.
- Tebbutt, M, *Women's Talk? a social history of 'gossip' in working-class neighbourhoods, 1880-1960*, Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1995.
- Thompson, P, 'Life Histories and the Analysis of Social Change' in D Bertaux (ed), *Biography and Society: the life history approach in the Social Sciences*, Beverley Hills London: Sage, 1981.
- Thompson, P, *The Voice of the Past: oral history*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, first published 1978, second edition 1988.
- Turner, R, 'Gala Day as an Expression of Community Identity' in A Jackson (ed), *Way of Life: integration and immigration*, SSRC North Sea Oil Panel Occasional Paper no. 12, London: SSRC, 1982.
- Turnock, D, 'The Retreat of Settlement in the Grampian Uplands' in *North Scotland*, vol. 4, pp 83-112, 1981.
- Varwell, A, 'Way of Life - Seeking an Identity' in A Jackson (ed), *Way of Life: integration and immigration*, SSRC North Sea Oil Panel Occasional Paper no. 12, London: SSRC, 1982.
- Vining, DR and Kontuly, T, 'Population Dispersal from Major Metropolitan Regions: an international comparison' in *International Regional Science Review*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp 49-73, 1978.

- Vining and Pallone, 'Migration Between Core and Peripheral Regions: a description and tentative explanation of the patterns in 22 Countries' in *Geoforum* vol. 13, no. 4, pp 339-410, 1982.
- Wagner, J (ed), *Images of Information: still photography in the Social Sciences*, Beverly Hills/London: Sage, 1979.
- Whitehead, A, 'Sexual Antagonism in Herefordshire' in DL Barker and S Allen (eds), *Dependence and Exploitation in Work and Marriage*, London: Longman, 1976.
- Wight, D, *Workers not Wasters: masculine respectability, consumption and unemployment in central Scotland: a community study*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993.
- Wilkins, R, 'Taking it Personally: a note on emotion and autobiography' in *Sociology*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp 93-100, 1993.
- Williams, JD and Sofranko, AJ, 'Motivations for the Immigration Component of Population Turnaround in Nonmetropolitan Areas' in *Demography*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp 239-255, 1979.
- Williams, NJ and Twine, FE, *A Research Guide to the Register of Sasines and the Land Register in Scotland: a report to Scottish Homes*, Edinburgh: Scottish Homes, 1991.
- Williams, WM, *The Sociology of an English Village: Gosforth*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956.
- Williams, WM, *A West Country Village: Ashworthy: family, kinship and land*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963.
- Williamson, B, *Class, Culture and Community: a biographical study of social change in mining*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982.
- Wills, J, 'The Price of Peace and Quiet' in J Button (ed), *The Shetland Way of Oil: reactions of a small community to big business*, first published 1976, second edition Shetland: Thuleprint, 1978.
- Willson, M, 'Afterword: Perspective and Difference: sexualization, the field and the ethnographer' in D Kulick and M Willson (eds), *Taboo: sex, identity and erotic subjectivity in anthropological fieldwork*, London and New York: Routledge, 1995.